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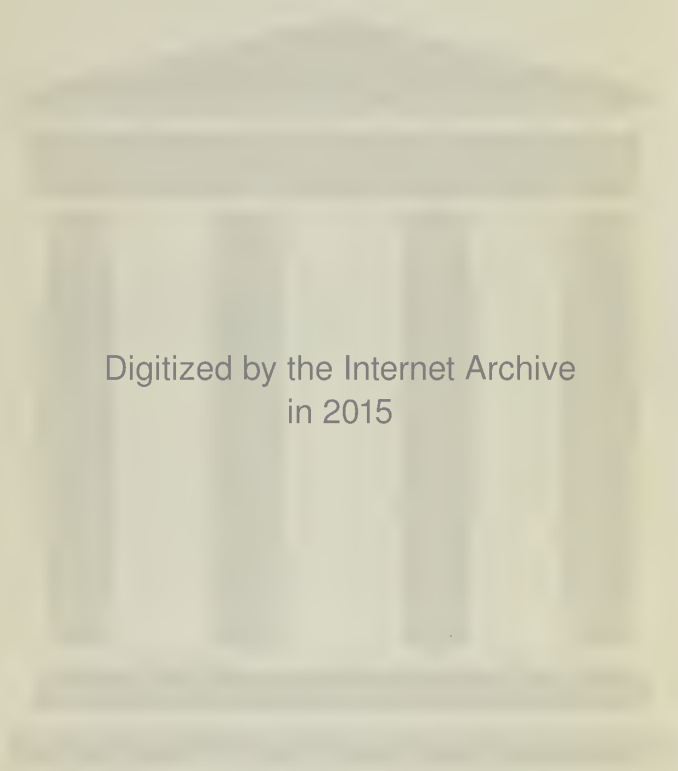
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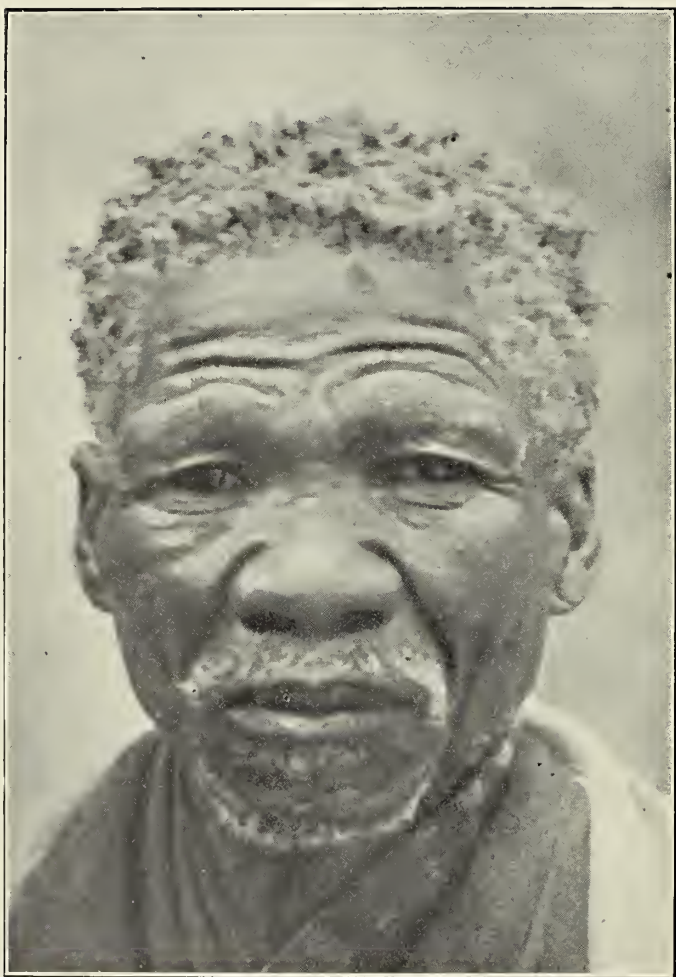
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DAPPER

THE EARLY CAPE HOTTENTOTS



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[Photo from S.A. Museum.
OLD CAPE HOTTENTOT MALE.

THE EARLY CAPE HOTTENTOTS

described in the writings of

OLFERT DAPPER (1668)

WILLEM TEN RHYNE (1686)

and

JOHANNES GULIELMUS DE GREVENBROEK (1695)

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The Van Riebeeck Society,
Cape Town,
1933.



NATIONALE PERS, BEPERK,
KAAPSTAD.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

In the year that van Riebeeck landed at Table Bay to establish a refreshment station for ships on their way to and from the East Indies, there was published in Amsterdam a small tract devoted entirely to a description of the country about the Cape of Good Hope. The *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het Land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* was a compilation, based mainly on published accounts and partly on details supplied orally by men who had made the India voyage. Its principal value lies in the fact that it summarizes all the information available about the Cape at the moment when it was first settled by Europeans. That its description is highly imperfect is only to be expected, for nothing at all was then known about the country beyond certain parts of the sea coast from St. Helena to Mossel Bay. And yet the anonymous author was able to include in it a fairly lengthy account of the native inhabitants, who were already known as the Hottentoots or Hottentots, a name under which they have become celebrated in ethnography, history and general literature.

It was more than a century and a half since Vasco da Gama had brushed up against them at St. Helena Bay, and not quite that since Francisco d'Almeida with several of his companions met an untimely death at their hands in Table Bay. In the years that followed many a ship or fleet put in at one or other of the harbours along the coast. First the Portuguese, then the Dutch and English and French, found it convenient to call here for fresh water and meat. The latter they obtained in barter from the natives, with whom their dealings were on the whole more amicable than might have been expected from the experiences of their predecessors. All travellers are narrators, and to these early voyagers the appearance and habits of the strange peoples they encountered were excellent material for publication or recital on reaching home. To them therefore we owe our first written records of the Hottentots. But a traveller's tale must also be marvellous and entertaining, and so the naked truth was often garbed in quaint, fictitious fancies. These voyagers in any case never stayed long enough to acquire more than a very superficial knowledge of the people, with whom they could not even communicate through the medium of a common language. The personal appearance, clothing, weapons, huts and subsistence of the Hottentots could be

observed almost immediately, and were recorded with a fair degree of trustworthiness; their language with its bewildering accompaniment of click consonants inevitably formed the subject of astonished and speculative comment; but of their social organization, manners and customs, religious beliefs and practices hardly anything could be learned, and such details as were recorded were the products of the imagination rather than of sober observation. The information so carefully pieced together in the *Klare Besgryvinge* was actually most fragmentary, and conveys no idea at all of the true culture of the Hottentots in all its ramifications.

Van Riebeeck for the first few years after his arrival was too fully occupied with his allotted task to pay much attention to research or exploration, although a reading of Linschoten, it may be, had inspired him with the hope that in the interior lay the gold and precious stones of Monomotapa and the mythical city of Vigiti Magna. His cattle dealings with the local Hottentots soon taught him a good deal about their political divisions and general character, while sundry incidents illustrating aspects of Hottentot custom also duly found their way into his official journal. Then bickerings between the local groups interrupted the all-important cattle trade, and so began a series of bartering journeys into the interior, contributing greatly to the knowledge already acquired and bringing back accounts of more remote tribes. Representatives of these in due course visited the settlement, to be eagerly questioned about their land and their neighbours. Much of what they told was subsequently found to be true, but they also described certain immensely wealthy and highly-cultured tribes living beyond them. The expeditions sent to locate these wonderful Chobonas and Hankumquas failed to do so, but returned with much interesting information about the Namaqua in the north. When van Riebeeck left the Cape in 1662 he embodied in a memorandum for his successor all that was then known to him of the Hottentot tribes either directly or through hearsay. The list shows that much had already been learned concerning their political divisions and distribution.

In and about the Cape Peninsula were the Gorachouqua and Goringhaiqua, with their offshoot the Goringhaikona; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the Kochoqua, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the Little and Great Chariguriqua, while still further north lived the Namaqua. To the east, beyond the Hottentots Holland mountains, were the Chainouqua, under their powerful chief Soeswa.

Still further east, but known only casually or by name, were the Hessequa, Hankumqua, Chamaqua, Omaqua, Atiqua, Houtunqua, Chauqua and Chobona, all said to be very rich in cattle and some in precious stones as well.

Later expeditions verified the existence of some tribes known to van Riebeeck only through hearsay, failed to find others, and added some new ones unknown to him. By the end of the seventeenth century, following on the eastward journeys of Cruse (1668), Visser (1676) and Schryver (1689), it was known with certainty that beyond the Chainouqua lay the Hessequa, in the present district of Swellendam; the Gouriqua, in the vicinity of Mossel Bay and the Gouritz River; the Attaqua, extending north of them to near the present village of George; the Houteniqua, further east as far as the Kromme River; and the Inqua to the north, in the present district of Aberdeen.

By the time this knowledge had been gained, much had also been learned about the general culture of the Hottentots. Men like Wreede had in the early years of the settlement applied themselves to a study of the Hottentot language and incidentally of Hottentot customs; exploring parties like that of van Meerhoff to the Namaqua in 1661 had brought back many valuable notes on the life of this tribe; and as the settlement grew older, its European residents came to be more and more familiar with the Hottentots, able to communicate with them directly in Dutch or even through the medium of their own language, and gradually learning odds and ends about their manners and customs. Transitory visitors to the Cape, of whom there were many, felt it desirable to include in their descriptions of the country some account of its native inhabitants, and so recorded all they could ascertain about the Hottentots. Most of the works dealing with the Cape in the latter half of the seventeenth century contain at least a page or two about the Hottentots, based either on generally superficial personal observation or on the statements of local residents; while some of them, like Schreyer's *Neue Ost-Indianische Reisz-Beschreibung*, are devoted almost entirely to a description of this people, the product of direct and seemingly careful investigation.

The three accounts reproduced below are among the most celebrated of these early descriptions of the Hottentots. They are more comprehensive than most of their kind, and for that reason may fairly be regarded as representing adequately what was known about the Hottentots at this time. The study of primitive peoples had not yet developed into a special science, with an elaborate technique of field investigation; and we need hardly expect to find in these early forerunners the exhaustive treatment and wealth of detail we demand in the modern ethnographical monograph.

The writers were not trained anthropologists. They were for the most part travellers, geographers, missionaries or leisured men of culture whose interest in the new countries they visited or described extended also to the native inhabitants, and accordingly they noted down what they were able to learn concerning the latter. Inspired by curiosity rather than by scientific motives, narratives of the kind they wrote are still being produced at the present time by travellers and others who come into contact with savage peoples; and the intrusion for the reader's delectation of strange and improbable details into a framework of sober fact is not characteristic of the seventeenth century alone, nor have fantastic speculations about ethnic origins ceased to fascinate the amateur dabbler in ethnography.

Judged in this light, and considering also the numerous handicaps under which these ethnographical pioneers must have laboured, the descriptions they compiled can be viewed with respect, if not necessarily with enthusiastic approbation. A survey of their contents shows that actually they contain a good deal of the information we still wish to have about primitive peoples in general. Dapper, Ten Rhyn and Grevenbroek, the three authors here represented, between them give us a fairly useful account of Hottentot tribal divisions, bodily appearance, clothing and ornaments, weapons and utensils, mode of life, dwellings, food and drink, birth, marriage, death and burial customs, religious beliefs and practices, treatment of disease, government, legal procedure, warfare, language and character. The more readily observable features of physique and material culture are on the whole treated far more fully than the less tangible aspects of social life and religion, which is but natural, for the latter are more difficult to understand, and must be studied with patience and sympathy, as well as over a reasonably long period of time. Many of the statements made by our authors subsequent investigation has shown to be correct; some observations and reflexions, however, can be ascribed only to ignorance or to imagination.

But on the basis of accounts such as these, supplemented by the contemporary official records and other descriptions, and where necessary by the comparative data of later study, it is possible now to reconstruct the main outlines of Hottentot culture as it existed before its fatal subjection to European influence. The following brief sketch is intended not so much to summarize the work of Dapper and the others as to provide the balance essential for the rightful appreciation of what they record. Features they describe in some detail have accordingly been completely ignored

here or passed over lightly, while aspects of culture to which they paid little or no attention have consciously been brought into greater prominence.*

Many of the early writers believed that the Hottentots were descended from or considerably influenced by the Jews or other Semitic peoples. This theory, a hardy perennial still often used to account for the origin of savage customs with a superficial resemblance to those recorded in the Old Testament, has no solid foundation in fact. The Hottentots, it is now generally held by anthropologists, were of the same original stock as the Bushmen (who were seldom clearly distinguished from them by the early writers). They were however subsequently affected by the incorporation of alien blood, emanating from early invading peoples of Hamitic stock, from whom they also acquired certain distinctive linguistic and cultural characters. They all called themselves *Khoikhoi*, "men of men, people of pure race", a name by which they distinguished themselves from others. The term *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known, was imposed upon them by the Europeans about the middle of the seventeenth century. Dapper, and following him many later writers, maintain that it is derived from a Dutch word for "stammerer" or "stutterer", and was applied to them on account of the peculiar clicks which gave their speech its distinctive character. But there is good reason to believe that its origin really lay in their own use in many of their dance songs of some such word as *Hautitou* (→*Hottentoo*), which was adopted by the early voyagers as a convenient appellation and so found its way into European languages.

The early Dutch settlers found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their presence beyond the Orange River to the north, and as far as the Kei River in the east, although nowhere had they penetrated far inland. Both in culture and in physical features they all presented a good deal of homogeneity. Their languages, however, were later found to fall into four separate dialectical groupings. It is accordingly usual to classify the people themselves on this basis into four main divisions, known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana and the Naman.

*The description which follows is based almost entirely upon the lengthy discussion of Hottentot culture in my book *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa: Bushmen and Hottentots* (esp. pp. 223-418), where all the relevant literature has been utilized in compiling a comprehensive account of what is at present known about the Hottentots.

The Cape Hottentots were found by the first Europeans in the south-western parts of the Cape, and described in most of the early accounts; although even in van Riebeeck's time the Naman (Namaqua) had also been visited. The physical appearance, clothing and adornment of both divisions are described at sufficient length in the various accounts published below, and need not here be specially discussed; any minor corrections or comments that seem called for will be found in the appropriate footnotes. Their mode of life is also dealt with in fair detail by Dapper and Grevenbroek; but a brief summary, corrected in the light of later researches, will perhaps contribute to a better understanding of what follows.

None of the Hottentots ever cultivated the soil. They were essentially a nomadic pastoral people, wandering about from place to place with their herds of long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed sheep. Their principal food was the milk of their cattle, drunk as a rule after being allowed to thicken. The milking was done by the women, while the general herding and pasturing of the cattle was in the hands of the men. To supplement the milk diet wild fruits, berries and tubers of various kinds were gathered by the women from trees and bushes or dug up out of the ground, and eaten either raw or prepared in several different ways by baking and roasting. Meat, a luxury, was obtained chiefly by hunting, also the work of the men. In addition to game all sorts of small animals and even insects were eaten in case of necessity. The domestic animals were never slaughtered, save on festive or ceremonial occasions, but all dying of disease and other natural causes were eaten with relish. The unappetizing description Dapper gives of some Hottentot foodstuffs may seem hard to believe, but there is ample evidence to show that when hard pressed by hunger the Hottentots would eat almost anything that could be swallowed.

Their nomadic mode of life necessarily prevented them from banding together permanently in very considerable numbers. The ever-present need of grass and water for their herds and flocks compelled them to live and move in small, compact, and often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, some of the people would move away to a distance in order to acquire a new grazing ground of sufficient extent for their use. In this way the number of different communities was always tending to multiply.

Politically they were grouped into tribes, each with its own distinctive name. The tribes were not as a rule very large, the number of people in each ranging from several

hundreds to a couple of thousand. Every tribe appears to have had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or grazing without first obtaining leave. Value was laid especially on permanent waterholes, round which the people migrated, claiming as their territory all the land where they were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. This land was exploited on equal terms by all the members of the tribe. It could under no circumstances become the property of an individual, nor was it held to belong to the chief; and it was generally regarded as inalienable. In the early Cape Records several instances are noted of land having been "sold" to the colonists by Hottentot chiefs; but it is more than probable that such "sales" were looked upon by the Hottentots themselves not as alienation but as the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" as analogous to tribute paid for this use.

Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in the course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua, Goringhaikona or Gorachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems to have been at one time dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as did also the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves were found divided into two branches, the senior under Oedaso, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.

This fissiparous tendency was due not only to the Hottentot mode of life, but also to the nature of their social organization. Each tribe was made up of clans, or groups of families claiming descent from some common ancestor in the male line whose name they bore. Marriage within the clan was strictly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in some other clan. Membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection, and he could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in case of the blood feud. The vendetta system was in force among the Hottentots, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent the members of two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on one another. The chieftainship was a prerogative of the senior clan in virtue of descent, and the hereditary head of this clan was the recognized chief of the tribe. If a man of fine character and marked ability he was accorded a good deal of respect, but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. Together

with them he regulated the movements of the tribe in peace and war, and administered justice in accordance with traditional usage, just as the head of each clan, assisted by its old men, was responsible for maintaining law and order within his own group. The heads of the clans appear to have often been jealous of one another; there were constant internal rivalries and disputes, which sometimes flared up into open warfare. The bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was sometimes sufficient to produce a permanent breach. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others; and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty, a fact sufficiently often noted by the Dutch in their early dealings with the Hottentots.

Within the clan the outstanding social unit was the family, consisting of a man with his wife or wives and dependent children. All the Hottentot tribes permitted polygyny, although as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men had more than one wife. In any case, the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. The first wife married was the chief wife, and took precedence over the others. Families closely related tended to camp together, their huts being arranged in a definite order according to seniority in line of descent. As a rule the members of a tribe were scattered over its territory in small groups or "kraals" of this kind, each group consisting of a single clan or part of a clan. The older people, however, would generally stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief, situated as a rule along a river bank or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly. In this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

The camp took the form of a vast circle, enclosed with a great fence of thorn. Within the fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. Members of the same clan had their huts close together, and the tribal rank of a clan was readily seen in its distance from and position in regard to the huts of the chief and his clansmen. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but the cattle and sheep just lay in the open before their owner's hut till driven out to graze in the morning.

The huts themselves were well adapted to the nomadic life of the people: light in weight, simple in material and structure, and providing an airy shelter from the wind and the sun, they could easily be taken down, packed up, transported on the backs of oxen to the site of the next

encampment, and there rebuilt. Their shape and mode of erection are adequately described in the accounts printed below. It need only be added that the modern "matjeshuis" or mat hut so often seen in the country districts of the Cape Province is the direct descendant of the old Hottentot hut, which it faithfully copies in appearance and often even in material.

Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her unmarried children. She was regarded as the mistress of the hut and all its domestic utensils, and so far from being dominated by her husband appears to have had a good deal of independence. Marriage arrangements were conducted by the parents of the two parties concerned. Generally the boy's people, after he had found a suitable bride for himself, would approach her parents on his behalf. The latter, however agreeably disposed they might be, were expected by custom to make a prolonged show of reluctance, ending, after much persuasion by the boy's people, in acquiescence. During the period of betrothal, generally a few months, the boy and girl might not communicate together save through an intermediary. The wedding was celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. The bridegroom provided a sheep or cow to be slaughtered for the bride, and eaten only by her and the other women who were already married. This special meal marked her acceptance into the ranks of married women. Henceforth the young couple formed a separate household in the community, lived in their own hut, and in general played the part of full adult members of the tribe.

A pregnant woman had to observe various food and other restrictions lest the child in her womb be affected disastrously. Delivery took place in her hut, from which all men were excluded. An old woman well versed in the art of midwifery was called in to supervise. The afterbirth and blood flowing from the woman were buried in a hole made in the floor of the hut, for it was believed that any unauthorized person getting hold of these substances could use them to bewitch the mother and her child. The woman remained secluded in her hut for several days, during which she had to abstain completely from her normal daily activities and also observe various ritual restrictions. On emerging she went through a special ceremony of purification, followed by a sacramental feast welcoming her into the ranks of women who had borne children. Twin births were considered unlucky, and one of the children, especially if a girl, was exposed or even buried alive, a fate which generally also overtook a baby whose mother died in giving birth to it. The Hottentots justified this infanticide

on the ground that it would be extremely difficult to maintain and rear such children.

Suckling was normally prolonged until the child was two or three years old. From the moment it could stand on its feet, however, it gradually learned to fend for itself. The little boys early began to herd the sheep and the calves, and to exercise themselves by hunting with small bows and arrows birds, lizards, mice and similar small fry which they ate. As they grew older they were put to herding the cattle, and also began to accompany the men on adult hunting expeditions. The first time a boy killed a big game animal was made the occasion of a ceremony at which he was formally initiated into the ranks of adult hunters. The little girls remained with their mother, learning to assist her in the daily household tasks, such as procuring firewood, preparing the food and the ointments for the body, fetching water, making reed mats and keeping the hut in repair. In family life respect for age was inculcated, and deference was always expected towards elders. Among brothers the eldest always had the honoured place and the first voice in any debate, and in family affairs his opinion carried authority. On the death of the father, he inherited the great bulk of the property and became the new head of the family. There was, however, a strong taboo between brothers and sisters, and when once grown up they had to avoid one another completely. A man had to respect his sister highly, and in her presence conduct himself with much decorum. Breach of this regulation was severely condemned and even punished.

The attainment of puberty was marked by the performance of special rites, conferring upon the initiates the status of mature adults and permission to marry. In the case of a boy, the ceremony involved a period of seclusion in a small enclosure, during which a learned old man instructed him carefully in all the laws and usages peculiarly observable by men. Some early writers, like Grevenbroek and Kolb, state also that boys each had to undergo semi-castration before being allowed to marry, but it is doubtful how far this operation can be regarded as part of the initiation rite, or even whether it existed at all. His formal instruction over, the boy had the right henceforth to associate habitually with the men, and to eat and smoke in their company. Boys who had not undergone the rites ate only with the women, and were regarded as milksops. Men who violated any of the special restrictions to which they were subject were also excluded from the company of the others, until ceremonially purified.

The ceremony for a girl, held when she first menstruated, has been recorded most fully for the Naman, but a few

stray observations in early writings suggest that something similar existed among the Cape Hottentots. Among the Naman it was an elaborate affair, involving a lengthy period of seclusion, during which the girl was in a state of taboo and had to observe many restrictions, including above all the complete avoidance of cold water. It was brought to an end by a long series of purificatory rites, some of them designed to promote fertility in man, beast and nature, followed by her formal reintroduction to all the daily tasks from which she had been cut off during her seclusion.

It is worth noting at this stage the part which water, because of its outstanding importance to the material well-being of the Hottentots, came to play in their ceremonial life as well. Among the Naman there was a great annual rainmaking ceremony, when pregnant sheep and cows were sacrificed to promote the fruitfulness of nature; while in many of the ceremonies connected with the life history of the individual water played an essential part, being endowed in some instances with a special protective power, while in others it was considered extremely dangerous and therefore to be avoided at all costs. Thus objects or persons which might harm members of the society were rendered innocuous by immersion in cold water or by being sprinkled with cold water; while on the other hand sick people, mothers with new-born babies, menstruating women, bereaved people and many others were in a precarious condition and must on no account touch water lest they die. When, after many ceremonies of purification, these people were once more introduced to the daily life of the tribe, they were specially reintroduced to water, being splashed all over with it before they could resume their normal occupations.

Dead people were as a rule disposed of by burial, although the Hottentots also had the custom of abandoning old and helpless people to die ultimately of starvation or be devoured by wild beasts. Where burial took place, the relatives and friends of the dead person spent the night together outside the hut in which the body was laid, and carried on a ceremonial wailing. The corpse, doubled up like an embryo and wrapped in skins sewn together, was usually buried the following afternoon. A grave was dug with a niche in one side, in which the corpse was placed in a sitting position facing east. The niche was closed with bushes and a slab of stone, and a mound raised over the grave, everybody present adding to it a stone or twig. The hut of the dead person was then abandoned, and the camp moved to another site. The near relatives underwent a special ceremony of purification; while the widow in

particular was subjected to a period of seclusion, at the end of which, after being purified, she was admitted by a sacramental meal into the ranks of the widowed.

The Hottentots had no definite conception of an afterworld or land of the dead, nor was there any established theory of reincarnation. They believed that the soul of a dead person went with him into the grave, from which it was able to emerge at will in human or animal guise. These ghosts were thought to be mischievous or harmful, and in particular to cause most of the sickness or death. Consequently they were much dreaded, and the graves of the dead avoided. To counteract the danger threatened by the ghosts, various protective measures were employed, such as sprinkling the grave with water immediately after the funeral, or daubing oneself with wet clay when visiting a site where the group had formerly camped, and which might therefore be haunted by ghosts. The Naman spoke of these ghosts most commonly as /*hei /nun*, "fawn feet", but sometimes also as *sobo khoïn*, "people of the shadow," or //*gaunagu*.

This word //*gaunagu* is the masculine plural form of //*Gaunab*, the name of a prominent figure in Hottentot religion and myth. The early writers found it most difficult to obtain any clear impression of Hottentot religious belief, sometimes confusing the names and attributes of the supernatural beings or even asserting quite seriously that the Hottentots had no religion at all. We know now that actually they had a well-developed system of beliefs and practices centring in mythical beings derived partly from animistic conceptions and partly from the personification of natural forces. //*Gaunab* was one of these supernatural personages. He was closely associated with the ghosts of the dead, and regarded primarily as a source of evil, responsible especially for much sickness and death. The whirlwind, eclipses of the sun or moon, shooting stars and similar natural phenomena were all omens of great misfortune linked up with him. How far he was actually worshipped is difficult to decide, but it seems clear enough that on occasion sacrificial offerings were made to appease him. The magicians were also said to derive much of their power from him.

In Hottentot mythology //*Gaunab* figured as a malevolent chief always in conflict with *Tsui-//Goab*, the great tribal hero. *Tsui-//Goab* in his mythological character is said to have been a great chief, a notable warrior of immense physical strength, and a powerful magician; he was also regarded as the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all as the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena. The great

annual rainmaking ceremony, the most important ritual occasion in the life of the people, was directed to him; and since, as the giver of the rain, he was also the source of good pastures and the edible roots and berries, prayers were often addressed to him for food.

Another conspicuous figure was *Heitsi Eibib*, a sort of mythical ancestor hero. He was the central personage of a great mythical cycle, in which he and members of his family had many wonderful adventures and escapades. All the actions ascribed to him were those of a man, but of one endowed with supernatural powers: he died and rose again many times, he was a rich and powerful chief, a seer and thaumaturgist, and a great hunter, but he was also full of tricks and his character was not altogether blameless. His "graves", great heaps of stone piled up high, were found all over the country, and no Hottentot would pass one without adding to it a stone or branch or some similar object, sometimes also muttering a prayer for good luck and success in hunting. But he never commanded the same respect and reverence in the eyes of the Hottentots as did *Tsui-//Goab*.

Many of the early writers further state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking; and some of them add that on such occasions the moon was actually invoked, although others deny this completely. The direct evidence in favour of Hottentot moon worship is indeed most sketchy, but if one may judge from the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the moon there seems no good reason to doubt that this may also have been true of the Hottentots. The moon figured too in their mythology, in connexion with the well-known story of the origin of death: it promised immortality to men, and when its message was distorted irrevocably by the hare, it was also the avenger, punishing the fateful deceiver. It was for this reason too that Hottentot men had to avoid eating the flesh of the hare.

Like most primitive peoples, the Hottentots had among them specialists in the art of magic. The magicians were the diviners of the community, and appear also to have presided over some of the ceremonies; but their principal function was to cure people who had been "bewitched". Some of them no doubt had a good working knowledge of herbal medicines and their application, but there was also a good deal of pure magic and even sleight of hand in their treatments. Various methods of divination were in use, and great faith was also placed in omens, of which there were many kinds. Dreams, the flight and cry of birds, the direction of the winds, celestial phenomena, all these had special significance. The sight of the Mantis was an omen

of extreme good fortune, but the nickname "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's God) which it still bears in South Africa does not appear to have had any factual justification. Amulets were commonly worn. Herdsmen, warriors, hunters and others tied round their necks small pieces of wood, fangs, beads and similar objects obtained from the magicians, and believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil.

A few of the usages and beliefs mentioned above still survive among the Naman of South West Africa and the last remnants of the old Korana in the Orange Free State and South-Western Transvaal. But the vast majority of them have died out completely, just as the Hottentots themselves have for the most part lost their purity of race and even their language. The early effects of contact with Europeans are already noticeable in the accounts of our authors. The war of 1659 described by Dapper was the first step in a process by which ultimately the Hottentots completely lost all their pasture lands and became politically subject to the Dutch. The reckless trading mentioned by Dapper and Ten Rhyne gradually deprived them of their cattle and sheep, their principal means of subsistence, and the copper, beads, tobacco and alcohol they received in return from the Dutch could not save them from starvation. It was only by entering into the service of the whites, a practice already much followed in Grevenbroek's time, that many of them were able to secure a livelihood. Prolonged and intimate contact with the ever-expanding European culture ultimately resulted in the total disintegration of the Cape Hottentot tribes. Even their names are completely forgotten in popular speech, save where associated with places where they formerly lived. Imported diseases such as smallpox led to a rapid decline in their numbers. But even more effective in destroying their original status was the considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first years of the settlement took place between them and the white settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable if at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of the Cape Hottentot division can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their original culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

In Little Namaqualand descendants of the old Naman are still found in fairly considerable numbers. Here, too, their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, the regular medium of intercourse even

amongst themselves. The Naman in South West Africa have preserved their language to a much greater extent, but their old culture, where it has not been wholly obliterated, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements. All of them are now ostensibly Christians. Their tribal organization has been hopelessly broken down, and their mode of life has also altered. Most of them now live as servants in the employ of Europeans, and others have taken to agriculture in a small and on the whole insignificant way. Even the few who still lead a purely pastoral life as a rule have very small herds, while most of their handicrafts have suffered and some have completely disappeared. The manufactured goods of the trader are now to be seen in every Hottentot hut. Only the latter still survives relatively unmodified, save where occasionally a covering of old sacks has replaced the far more attractive reed mats.

We cannot be sufficiently thankful to the old writers for recording their impressions and observations of Hottentot culture while it still flourished in all its traditional manifestations. We may lament their many omissions, criticize their statements of so-called fact, ridicule their opinions or smile at their eager credulity; but with all their deficiencies they have left us a mass of accurate information which can no longer be obtained, and whose value both to the anthropologist and to the student of South African history is accordingly all the greater. Pioneers of South African ethnography and chroniclers of a most interesting phase in the development of our country, they must always command our respect and our gratitude.

I. SCHAPERA.

KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS

Kaffrarie of Lant der Kaffers, ANDERS HOTTENTOTS GENAEMT

Afgedruk uit

NAUKEURIGE BESCHRIJVINGE DER AFRIKAENSCH
GEWESTEN VAN EGYPTEN, BARBARYEN, LIBYEN,
BILEDULGERID, NEGROSLANT, GUINEA, ETHIOPIEN,
ABYSSINIE.

Door

DR. O. DAPPER

t'Amsterdam, By Jacob van Meur,
op de Keyzersgracht, in de Stadt Meurs.
ANNO M.DC.LXVIII.

Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs, ALSO NAMED HOTTENTOTS

Reprinted from

AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF THE AFRICAN REGIONS
OF EGYPT, BARBARY, LIBYA, BILEDULGERID, THE LAND
OF NEGROES, GUINEA, ETHIOPIA, ABYSSINIA.

By

DR. O. DAPPER

Amsterdam: Jacob van Meur
Keysersgracht, Meurs.
1668.

(Translated by I. Schapera.)

FOREWORD.

Olfert Dapper, the son of Gerrit Gerritsz. Dapper and his wife Trijntje Heeres, was born in Amsterdam in 1636. Of his private life very little appears to be known.* The available records show that he registered as a medical student at the University of Utrecht in 1658, but there can be little doubt that he soon abandoned his studies and took to writing. The degree of M.D. which adorns the title pages of his books seems to have been conferred upon himself by his own authority; there is at any rate no record of his graduation, nor of his having ever practised medicine. All his energies must have been devoted to reading and writing, for in his comparatively short lifetime (he died in 1689) he produced a number of large and important works. His first book, an historical description of Amsterdam (1663), said to be far superior to anything previously done on the same subject, was followed by a Dutch translation of Herodotus (1665). From now on he seems to have applied himself with indefatigable zeal to learning all that he could about foreign lands. As a result of his studies he composed the great series of geographical works upon which rests his fame. The first to appear was a description of Africa (1668), which met with so favourable a reception that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to geographical writing. In 1670 appeared an account of the Dutch East India Company's activities in the Far East, followed by an exhaustive study of Asia (three parts, 1677-1680), and finally by several works on the Near East.

Dapper's *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten*, dealing as it does at considerable length with the topography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the whole continent and its adjacent islands, was long regarded as one of the most authoritative early accounts of Africa. For many years after its first publication it was freely quoted, translated and plagiarized. Even so well known an authority on early Cape affairs as Abraham Bogaert, who visited the settlement six times, has in the chapter he devotes to the Hottentots in his *Historische Reizen door d' oostersche Deelen van Asia* (1711) drawn practically all his information and many of his actual sentences from the pages of Dapper. And yet, like all Dapper's other geographical works, the account of Africa was essentially a compilation.

*The biographical details here given are based upon the short sketches of Dapper in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographische Woordenboek*, vol. 7, and Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

He does not appear to have ever left Holland to see with his own eyes any of the countries he describes. For his material he relied solely on printed sources and on memoranda specially prepared for him. That this circumstance does not guarantee the accuracy of his work is obvious. His great merit, however, lies in the fact that he ranged very widely in search of information, and that he had a shrewd eye for relevant detail. His work was comprehensive and painstaking, and as the first great compendium of modern knowledge about Africa it became deservedly famous.

The pages dealing with the Cape and the Hottentots are based to some extent upon the anonymous *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het land aan Cabo de Bona Esperanca* (Amsterdam, 1652), itself a compilation, which he pillages freely enough when it suits his purpose. He also used very sparingly the records of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies (1595). The bulk of his information, however, is not to be found in any contemporary published account. He says himself in the foreword to his book that most of what he relates, especially about the tribal divisions, manners and customs of the Hottentots, is derived from manuscript accounts sent to Holland by a certain "diligent observer" at the Cape, and that he has added only a little from printed sources. In his text, too, he refers several times to information sent over by men on the spot.

Theal, in a brief notice of Dapper's book,* points out with justice that the pages dealing with the Cape seem to have been prepared by someone who was not there at the commencement of the occupation, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was obviously studying the customs, manners and language of the Hottentots. He goes on to suggest that Dapper's unnamed correspondent was probably George Frederick Wreede. There is much to be said in favour of this attribution.

Wreede was a runaway German student who enlisted in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and came to the Cape in 1659.** Here he devoted himself to a study of the Hottentots. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and was often employed as an official interpreter and messenger to the Hottentot chiefs. By November, 1663, he had compiled a vocabulary of Hottentot words with their Dutch equivalents, which the commander of the Cape forwarded to the

**History and Ethnography of S. Africa before 1795*, iii, 376.

**On his life and career cf. Theal, *op. cit.*, ii, 139-141, 176-177; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 215-6.

Directors of the Company in Holland, with the request that it might be printed and some copies sent back to the settlement, where it would be useful. The Directors, though more anxious that the Hottentots should learn Dutch than that the settlers should become familiar with the native language, promised to have the work printed; but the promise never seems to have been carried out.* The manuscripts of the vocabulary are no longer preserved in the Archives of either Holland or the Cape. It is generally believed that they were lent to the historian Ludolf and never recovered, for in a biography written of him by Christian Junker and published in 1710 there is a long Dutch-Hottentot-Latin vocabulary whose source is not mentioned, but which is now universally attributed to Wreede.** The latter was rewarded for his studies with a small grant of money, and offered promotion by the Directors to any branch of the Cape service that he wished to select. He was ultimately appointed commander of Mauritius, where, after some vicissitudes of fortune, he met his death by drowning in 1672.

Wreede therefore seems to have been the most likely person at the Cape to supply Dapper with information about the Hottentots. There is also a certain amount of internal evidence to suggest that the account upon which Dapper drew was written about the time that Wreede's vocabulary was compiled, i.e. 1662-1663. Thus of the old chief Gogosoa he says, "In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old"; he speaks in the present tense of Herry, who died in 1663, and of the Chainouqua chief Soeswa, who died in 1664; he says (erroneously) that the Kochoqua chief Oedaso died in 1661, but does not name his successor; he gives the exact dates of several events occurring between 1659 and 1662, but not later; and so on. Whether Dapper was in direct communication with Wreede cannot be ascertained; it is equally probable that he may have obtained the latter's account of the Hottentots through the famous Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolas Witsen, to whom many of his books are dedicated, and from whom, incidentally, Ludolf is supposed to have received the loan of Wreede's Hottentot vocabulary.

Dapper's informant certainly managed to ascertain a good deal more about the Hottentots than had previously been known. His long list of tribes, with the careful description of their known habitations and rulers, is the

*The relevant official correspondence is reprinted in Moodie, *The Record*, pp. 271-79.

**This vocabulary is reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 215-24.

first ever printed, the more authoritative list compiled by van Riebeeck being of course preserved as manuscript in the Archives and not published for more than two hundred years. The discrepancies between the two lists seem to show clearly enough that neither Dapper himself nor his informant had access to the official records. His general account of Hottentot life is far more comprehensive than any of its predecessors, and reveals an intimate first-hand acquaintance with the people; while much of the information, especially in connexion with religion, legal procedure and marriage customs, is completely new. It deserves special praise for the way in which, passing lightly over customs simply quaint and curious, it discusses in detail the ordinary, daily life of the people, a feature which modern ethnographers too are now beginning to emphasize as of outstanding importance. With all its inaccuracies (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots.

The passages here reprinted from his pages on the Cape are those referring directly to the Hottentots; his description of the country, its climate, botanical and zoological resources have been omitted as irrelevant to the scope of this volume. The text followed is that of the second edition (1676, Tweede Deel, pp. 251-260, 263, 268-278), which, except that misprints have been corrected and several other slight errors rectified, is substantially the same as that of the first edition (1668, pp. 626-636, 643-653). The translation is the first complete one ever made into English. John Ogilby's *Africa* (London, 1670) was based largely upon Dapper's work, and its information relating to the Hottentots (pp. 576-583, 589-595) was all taken from the latter; but a good deal had been omitted, and much of what remains had been paraphrased. I have made no attempt to reproduce Dapper's rather laborious style or employ any corresponding archaisms. Mr I. W. van der Merwe, M.A., Lecturer in Nederlands and Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town, was kind enough to read through my translation and help me over some puzzling passages, but for the final version here printed I must assume all responsibility. I have occasionally taken the liberty of modernizing Dapper's punctuation, which in the original is apt to be confusing; and have used most (but not all) of his marginal notes as paragraph headings.

**KAFFRARIE OF LANT DER KAFFERS, ANDERS
HOTTENTOTS GENAEMT.**

Het gewest of lant van *Kaffrarie*, of, volgens Marmol, *Quefrerie*, wort alzoo na de *Kaffers* genaemt: 's lants inboorlingen, die by d'onzen, om hunne belemmerheit en wanhebbelijkheid van tale, met den naem van *Hottentoots* of *Hottentots* gemeenlijk bekend zijn, en zonder eenige wetten van Godtsdienst leven.*

* * *

Het gewest van *Kafrarie*, hoewel in gene byzondere of ten minste bekende koningrijken verdeilt, wort echter bewoont by verscheide ingeboorne volken; daer van eenige door koningen en andere door oversten bestiert worden, en zommige zonder opperhooft in 't wilt hene leven. 'k Zal eenigen dezer volken, benevens hun zeden, bestiering, gods-dienst en wat des meer zy, zoo veel als t'onzer kennis uit bericht van eenige onlangs overgezonden schriften, door luiden, die zich een wijle aen dien oort hebben opgehouden, gekomen is, ten tone stellen.

De voornaemste volken dan, die d'onzen in dit Zuiderlijkste gedeelte van Afrika tot noch toe ontdekt hebben, zijn de volgende: de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas*, *Hosaas*, *Chainouquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas*, *Brigoudijns*, en *Hankumquas*; d'acht eerste leggen dicht aen de kaep, en de verre gelegenste niet boven vijftigh mijlen daer van af, maer d'andere dieper te landewaerts in.

*This opening paragraph is obviously derived from Hondius, who says: "Caffraria heeft desen naam bekomen van weghe het volk, om dat sy sonder Wet ofte Gods-dienst leven; en dieshalven Caffres ofte Cafres heeten, ende het Land naar haar Caffraria, . . . ende by Marmol genaamd Quefrerie." (*Klare Besgryvinge van Cabo de Bona Esperanca*, reprinted in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1880-81, p. 489.)

KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS, OTHERWISE NAMED HOTTENTOTS.

The country or land of Kaffraria (or, according to Marmol,¹⁾ Quefrerie) is so named after the Kafirs, its native inhabitants. They are commonly known to our countrymen as Hottentoots or Hottentots, because their language is so clumsy and difficult;²⁾ and they live without any laws of religion.

* * *

The land of Kaffraria, although not divided into any special kingdoms of which we know, is nevertheless inhabited by different indigenous peoples. Some of them are governed by kings and some by chiefs, while others live in the wilds without any leader at all. I shall describe several of these peoples, together with their customs, government, religion and other characteristics, as far as these have come to our knowledge from some reports recently sent over by men who have dwelt in those parts for some time.³⁾

The principal peoples, then, whom our countrymen have up till now discovered in this southernmost portion of Africa, are the following:⁴⁾ the Gorachouquas, Goringhai-

1) *Description general de Affrica*, by Luis del Marmol Caravajal. 3 vols. Granada and Malaga, 1573-99. (French trans., Paris, 1667.)

2) See below, p. 71.

3) On Dapper's sources of information, see above, p. 2.

4) In the Cape records of this period the names of the Hottentot tribes and clans are spelt in a variety of different ways. All, however, are obviously so inaccurate that the correct versions according to Hottentot pronunciation are no longer obtainable, now that the tribes concerned have ceased to exist. The names as given above are all written without the clicks, and most of them have the suffix for the third masc. plur. (-*qua*, -*kwa*, or -*gwa*) or, sometimes, for the common plur. (-*na*). The forms given by Dapper are for the most part identical with those used by van Riebeeck in the "Instructions" he left for his successor (Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Cape Archives: Letters Despatched*, 1652-1662, vol. iii, 239-42), except that *k* has been uniformly substituted for *c*. Van Riebeeck in his list (*loc. cit.*) describes briefly the following tribes: Goringhaiconas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, Cochoquas, Little (and Great) Chariguriquas, Namaquas, Chainouquas, Heusaquas, and Hancumquas; and mentions also the Chamaquas, Omaquas, Atiquas, Houtunquas, and Chauquas. "After these is said to begin . . . another race of men, called . . . Choboqua or Chobona." Wagenaar, in a similar memorandum written four years later (1666), mentions only the first nine of these (Moodie, *The Record*, Part I, 291).

De drie eerste volken, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas* en *Goringhaikonas*, leggen meest al dicht aen de Kaep, niet boven vier of vijf uren gaens van het Fort van goeder hope, inzonderheit de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die maer een vierendeel uur gaens verre afgelegten zijn.

GORINGHAIKONAS

De *Goringhaikonas*, of watermans, staen onder eenen oversten, genaemt by hen *Demtaä*, en by d'onzen *Klaes Das*, om dat hy eens op het Dassen eilant gevangen en gebannen zy geweest, over zekeren misdaet, aen de Neerlanders gepleeght; maer is naderhant, door zich zelven wel te dragen, ontslaekt, en in zijne oude heerschappye gestelt. Zy hebben een leger slechts van vier of vijf huizen, zijn omtrent vijftigh zielen, met vrouw en kinderen, in getale sterk, en de armste onder alle de *Hottentots*.

GORACHOUQUAS

De *Gorachouquas*, by d'onzen genaemt Tabaks-dieven, ter oorzaak zy op zekeren tijt daer te lande al de Tabaks-planten van zekeren vryen lantbouwer van het velt hebben wegh-gestolen, en noch heden daer in volharden, zijn ontrent drie of vier hondert weer-bare mannen sterk, behalve vrou en kinderen, en erneren zich met schoon vee van schapen en koë-beesten.

⁵) In Van Riebeeck's "Dagverhaal" (henceforth referred to as D.) and other contemporary records the name also appears in the forms *Goringycona*, *Goeringaycona*, *Goringhaicoina*, etc. Wuras (*Bantu Studies*, iii, 289) interprets it as "children (or descendants)" of the *Goringhaiqua* (q.v.), from whom they had broken away. Van Riebeeck (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 239) refers to them as beachrangers and fishermen; exclusive of their wives and children, they did not number more than eighteen; they had no cattle, but lived by fishing and collecting, and by doing various menial services for the Dutch. Theal says they were the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded in 1652 (*History of S. Afr. before 1795*, ii, 13).

⁶) In the first years of the Cape settlement the accepted leader of the *Goringhaikona* was the famous Herry or Harry (see below, p. 16n); after his death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou (Theal, *op. cit.*, 157), whose *Hottentot* name was "Khamy" (D. July 8, 1658). I have been unable to find any evidence in the official records to corroborate Dapper's statement that Klaas Das was the chief of this group. This man with some other *Hottentots* had "of their own accord" accompanied

quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen⁵⁾ are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,⁶⁾ because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas⁷⁾ our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

⁷⁾ Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or *khwekwa*, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

Zy staen onder eenen overste, met name *Chora*, die eenen broeder heeft, geheten *Gaking*, beide gaende in besmeerde vellen, dat grote rijkdom van vee in heeft.

GORINGHAIQUAS

De *Goringhaiquas*, by d'onzen Kaepmans genaemt, om dat zy het naeste altijts van al de *Hottentots* aen de kaep van goeder hope gewoont hebben, en zich die plaets als eigen toe-schrijven, zoo lang d'onzen daer geweest zijn, mogen in volkrijkheit tegen de *Gorachouquas* op, en beide ontrent duizent weerbare mannen uitmaeken, bewonende ontrent vijf-en-tnegentigh huizen of hutten, met matten overdekt.

De *Goringhaiquas* staen onder eenen overste, by hen genaemt *Gogosoa*, maer by d'onzen de dikke kapitein, om zijn overgroten dikken en neerhangenden buik, zulx zijn naem met het wezen en gestalte des lijfs wonder wel over een komt.

Hy was in 't jaer zestien hondert en twee-en-zestigh, na het overschrijven der genen, die zich toen aldaer bevonden, wel hondert jaer out, en had twee zonen, de oudste genaemt *Osinghaikanna*, en d'andere *Otegnoa*, welke hunnen vader, inzonderheit de oudste, altijts hebben zoeken t'overheren, en geheel meester te spelen, met aenwendingh van alle middelen om dezen ouden *Gogosoa*, hunnen vader, van kant te helpen, en door dit middel de heerschappye vervolgens op den oudste, en voorts op den tweden te laten komen.

⁸⁾ The incident is mentioned in van Riebeeck's journal, March 11, 1657. In the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by the Hottentot girl Eva, the "*Chorachouqua*" are first identified as "the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens" (D. Oct. 31, 1657).

⁹⁾ Dapper's information is wrong; van Riebeeck says that "exclusive of women and children these *Gorachouquas* number from six to seven hundred men capable of bearing arms" (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 240).

¹⁰⁾ Also mentioned in the records as *Choeringaina*, *Goeringaiqua*, *Goringhoina*, etc., a name which Wuras (*op cit.*, 288) translates as "those who dip water out of fountains," but which Maingard (*op. cit.*, 111) suggests with more probability as being equivalent to *!kurin //aikwa*, or "proud people," one of the later Korana tribes. Together with the *Goringhaikona* and *Gorachouqua* they constituted a single tribe, of which their leader *Gogosoa* was the principal chief; but it is evident enough from the early records that these different sections were continually bickering and fighting amongst themselves.

from the fields of some free farmers over there;⁸⁾ and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;⁹⁾ and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas¹⁰⁾ our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,¹¹⁾ and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.¹²⁾ In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Oteгноа.¹³⁾ They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.¹⁴⁾

¹¹⁾ van Riebeeck (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

¹²⁾ In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

¹³⁾ van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khuma, alias Jan; and Oteгно, alias Peter (D. Sept. 26, 1658).

¹⁴⁾ van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yea! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1661).

Des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh, ontstont tusschen de volken *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, en d'onzen daer te lande een heftigh oorlogh, over de bezitting en toe-eigeningh van het lant ontrent de kaep, daer de Kaepmans d'onzen trachten uit te stoten; met voorwenden van aller eeuwen her dat bezeten te hebben. In dien oorlog boden hen de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven doorgaens bystant, en velden velen van ons volk, daer kans viel om hen te bespringen, met asagayen ter neer, en bragtenze jammerlijk om den hals: t'effens beroofden zy den onzen ook van beesten, gerechtelijk voor koopmanschappen aen hen geruult, die zy hen zoo snellijk ontjaeghden, dat zy niet te beschieten waeren; nemende al meest hun slaegh waer, by ongestuimigh en regenachtigh weder; wel bewust dat dan met het geweer zeer weinigh konde uitgerecht worden.

Deze treken en wetenschap hadden zy bekomen uit berecht van eenen van hun eigen volk by hen genaemt *Nommod*, en by d'onzen *Doman*, die te *Batavie*, (derwaerts overgevaren, met een schip van de Kompanjie,) zich vier of vijf jaren had opgehouden, en den omganh der Neerlanders wel bezichtigh, ook zelfs geen kleen gedeelte daer van ingezogen. *Doman*, dan, met de schepen, (herwaerts na Hollandt verordent,) weer aen de Kaap gekomen, hielt zich een lange wijle in Neerlantsche kleding by d'onzen, maer begaf zich eindelijk weder onder die Kaepmans, maekende hen het doen en den omgang der Neerlanders, en de maniere van hun geweer volkomelijk bekend.

Hy, t'effens met noch een anderen strijdtbaren krijgsknecht, geheten by de Hottentots *Garabinga*, en by de Neerlanders *Plat-neus*, zijn altijts de voor-vechters geweest, en hebben altijts het spits in het aenvallen voor afgebeten, zonder dat zy oit, van wegen hunne overgrote raddigheit, door heimelijke wachten van ruiterye of voet-knechten t'achterhalen waren.

¹⁵) For a summary description of this "war," see Theal, *op cit.*, 92-101. Van Riebeeck, in the memorandum he prepared for his successor, says of the Goringhaiqua: "They are those who pretend that this Cape land has during all the centuries been their own, and seeing that we had permanently established ourselves here as agriculturists, according to their own statement, made war against us in 1659, in consequence of the rude behaviour towards them of some of the freemen" (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239).

¹⁶) He belonged to the group of Capemen, and was called Doman or Dominie by the Dutch, "because he was such a very simple-minded man" (D. Nov. 12, 1655). He had lived with the Dutch for some time, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. In April 1657 he accompanied van Goens, after-

In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.¹⁵⁾ The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandize, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoä and to our countrymen as Doman.¹⁶⁾ He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch,¹⁷⁾ were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1658, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1659); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognized as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, *op. cit.*, 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 272).

¹⁷⁾ Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

Na dat 't oorlog reets drie maenden geduurt had, is in Zomermaent des jaers zestien hondert negen-en-vijftigh, op een morgenstont, wanneer vijf *Hottentots* (een der welke de voorzeide *Doman* was,) doende waren om zekeren vryman twee beesten afhandigh te maken, een felle schermutsing met vijf ruiters van d'onzen tegen deze vijf *Hottentots*, die in het vluchten met het vee achterhaelt wierden, aengevangen. Dan zy stelden zich als brave krijghs-luiden ter weer, naerdien zy geen middel zagen van wegh te kunnen vluchten, nochte geen lijfs-gena begeerden; zulx zy twe ruiters quetsten, d'eene door den arm en onder die korte ribben, en den anderen in 't rugge-been; doch bleven d'onzen hen dat niet schuldigh, maer schoten drie van de vijf onder de voet, en staken twee met hun eigen geweer, dat zy neerleiden, door 't lijf. Een der drie ter neergeschoten, *Eykamma* genaemt, die door den hals geraekt, en 't been aen stukken was, met een zwaren houw in den kop, wiert op een peert in 't Fort gebracht; maer *Doman*, met een anderen, ontsprongen den dans, door het overduiken eener reviere van acht voeten breed, waer na het vluchten hun beste geweer en behoudenis was.

De gewonde *Eykamma* in 't Fort gebraght, en gevraeght, uit wat oorzake zy luiden den onzen den oorlog hadden aengedaen, en met moorden, roven en branden trachten overal afbreuk te doen, gaf, by na door de pijn der grote en zware wonden overwonnen, tot antwoord; waerom zy Neerlanders hun lant om ploegden, en koorn op hun landen zaiden, daer zy hun beesten moesten ter weide drijven, en hen daer door het broot uit den mont zochten t'ontrekken? met byvoegen, van noit andere nochte beter weyde gehad te hebben. Weshalve geschiede zulx, voeghde hy daer op, uit geen anderen inzichte, als zich over het

¹⁸⁾ Dapper's version of this episode, while substantially accurate, does not agree in every particular with the official records. All five *Hottentots* were wounded by shooting; *Doman*, and probably another, managed to escape; two others, after being shot down, were stabbed or slashed by the Dutch, but "must have been dragged away" afterwards by their fellows, for when some men were soon after sent from the Fort "to fetch their heads" they could not be found; and only the fifth was brought back, "mortally wounded, but somewhat alive still". (D. July 19, 1659; *Letters Desp.*, iii, 128.)

¹⁹⁾ This paragraph is evidently based on van Riebeeck's despatch of July 29, 1659, to Batavia. He says there: "The prisoner, one of the Capemen, who could speak Dutch fairly well, having been asked the reason why they caused us this trouble, declared for no other reason than that they saw that we kept in possession the best lands, and grazed our cattle where theirs used to do so,

One morning in June 1659, after the war had already lasted three months, five Hottentots (including this Doman) were overtaken by five of our horsemen as they were running off with two cattle which they had stolen from a certain free burgher. A sharp skirmish ensued. The Hottentots, seeing no possible means of flight nor desiring any mercy, defended themselves valiantly. They wounded two of the horsemen, one through the arm and under the lower ribs, and the other in the spine. But our countrymen repaid the debt by wounding three of them with the gun, and stabbing the other two dead with their own weapons. One of the three who were shot, a man named Eykamma, was taken to the Fort on a horse, with his neck pierced, his leg shattered, and a severe wound in the head; but Doman, with the other, escaped by jumping over a stream eight feet wide, after which flight proved their best weapon and salvation.¹⁸⁾

The wounded Eykamma, brought into the Fort, was asked why his people had made war against our countrymen, and tried to cause damage everywhere by killing, plundering and burning. Well-nigh overcome by the pain of his severe wounds, he replied by asking why the Dutch had ploughed over the land of the Hottentots, and sought to take the bread out of their mouth by sowing corn on the lands to which they had to drive their cattle for pasture; adding that they had never had other or better grazing grounds. The reason for all their attacks, he continued, was nothing else than to revenge themselves for the harm and injustice done to them: since they not only were commanded to keep away from certain of their grazing grounds, which they had always possessed undisturbed and only allowed us at first to use as a refreshment station, but they also saw their lands divided out amongst us without their knowledge by the heads of the settlement, and boundaries put up within which they might not pasture. He asked finally what we would have done had the same thing happened to us. Moreover, he added, they observed how we were strengthening ourselves daily with fortifications and bulwarks, which according to their way of thinking could have no other object than to bring them and all that was theirs under our authority and domination.¹⁹⁾ To this our men replied:

and that everywhere with houses and plantations we endeavoured to establish ourselves so permanently as if we intended never to leave again, but take permanent possession of this Cape land (which had belonged to them during all the centuries) for our sole use; yea! to such an extent that their cattle could not come and drink at the fresh water without going over the corn lands, which we did not like them to do", etc. (*Letters desp.*, iii, 128.)

leet en ongelijk, hen aengedaen, te wreken: naerdien zy niet alleen verbodt kregen zich t'onthouden van deze en gene wey-plaetzen voor hun vee, daerze die van alle eeuwen her onbemoeit bezeten, en ons in den beginne maer toegelaten hadden, de landen te gebruiken tot een verversch-plaetse; maer zagen ook hun landeryen, zonder hen te kennen, onder d'onzen door d'opperhoofden wierden uitgedeelt, en hen palen gestelt, binnen de welke zy niet mogten weiden; vragende eindelijk of ons zulx geschiede, hoe wy ons in dat stuk zouden dragen? vernamen daer en boven, hoe wy ons dagelix van vest en bolwerken versterkten, het welk, huns bedunkens, tot geen ander einde te zullen strekken, dan om hen en 't hunne allengs onder gebiet, en de voet op den nek te krijgen. Zy hadden, gaven d'onzen weer tot antwoord, dit lant ontrent de kaep, door den oorlogh nu t'eenemael verloren, en noit derhalve hunne gedachten daer over te laten gaen het zelve by vrede of oorlog te zullen weder krijgen.

De laetste rede van dezen *Eykamma*, die ten zesten daghe quam t'overlijden, was, dat hy slechts een gering perzoon was, maer men zijnen overste daer over aen het Fort t'ontbieden hadde, en met die de zaken t'overleggen, om elk het zijn te herstellen, of zoodanigh, als het beste konde gevonden worden, tot staken van het onderling schade en hinder doen. Dit dan voor goet gekeurt, wierden twee of drie Neerlanders uitgezonden, met verslag aen den Overste Gogosoa om in het Fort te komen, en onder elkandre een verdragh van vrede op te rechten. Dan alles wiert vergeefs aangewent: want schoon onder hen door den voorverhaelden aenslag, wel een schrik gebragt was, zy voeren echter, daer zy kans zagen, met de wapenen even heftigh voort, zulx men geen middel wist te beramen, om dit geschil ten oorbaarste te beslechten. Weinigh help ook het stellen

²⁰⁾ This statement was actually made not to Eykamma but to the Capemen when they came to sue for peace. Van Riebeeck says: "They pressed this point so hard that their lands should be evacuated by us, that we were finally compelled to say, that in consequence of the war made against us, they had completely forfeited their rights, and that we were not inclined to restore them, as the country had become the property of the Company by the sword and the rights of war" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 166; cf. D., April 5, 1660.)

²¹⁾ Once more Dapper is inaccurate. Eykamma was captured on July 19, and died in the Fort on Tuesday, Aug. 12, 1659 (cf. D., *ut cit.*).

²²⁾ This famous character, whose Hottentot name is always given by van Riebeeck as Autochamao, had been with the English to Bantam before the establishment of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, had picked up some "broken English", and later also

"your people have now once for all lost the land around the Cape through war, and you must accordingly never dwell on the idea of getting it back again through peace or through war."²⁰)

Eykamma died on the sixth day.²¹) His last words were that he was only an insignificant person, but that he thought we should summon his chief to the Fort and discuss with the latter the possibility of restoring to each what was his, or of making whatever arrangement might be found best to put an end to the reciprocal damage and inconvenience. This being approved, two or three Dutchmen were sent to request Chief Gogosoia to come to the Fort, so that a mutual treaty of peace could be established. But the attempt was all in vain; for although the blow mentioned above had scared them, they nevertheless carried on fighting with the same vehemence wherever they saw a chance, so that we could think of no means of bringing this dispute to the most suitable close. It also helped but little to place good guards everywhere among the free farmers living about an hour or two from the Fort, since these Hottentots, owing to their great agility and swiftness, were able to drive away from our countrymen the cattle and sheep which went out to graze by day, and to carry them off without ever being overtaken.

This war, in which our countrymen were killed, plundered and robbed by the savages, had already lasted ten or eleven months before the dispute was settled in the following way. A certain Hottentot of importance, known to our countrymen as Harry and to his own people as Kamcemoea,²²) had been banished to Robben Island for some offence committed against us. One dark night, after a stay of three months

learned some words of Dutch from the sailors of the wrecked "Haarlem." In consequence, van Riebeeck used him as an interpreter in the cattle trade, but as he obviously served his own interests rather than those of the Dutch, he soon gave rise to dissatisfaction. He deserted the Fort in Oct. 1653, after a Dutch shepherd had been murdered by some of his Hottentots, and did not reappear until June 1655, when for reasons of policy he was received back into favour. Once more his interference led to a disruption of the cattle trade, and the signs of his complicity in cattle thefts from the Dutch became so evident that at last, in July 1658, he was banished to Robben Island and all the cattle which he had appropriated for himself confiscated. He was brought back the following year to guide the Dutch to the camps of the enemy Hottentot tribes, but failed to do so, and was sent back to the island, whence he subsequently escaped. After the war he again frequented the Fort, and died soon after van Riebeeck left the Cape, some time in 1663. (D. passim; cf. Bosman, "Uit die Biografie van 'n Hottentot," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, x, 143-51.)

van goede wachten over al by de vrye lantbouwers van d'onzen, die ontrent een of twee uren van het Fort wonen, gemerkt deze *Hottentots* de beesten en schapen, die by dagh ter weide gingen, den onzen door hunne uitnemende radigheit en snelheit t'ontjagen, en wegh te voeren, zonder oit achterhaelt te worden.

Tien of elf maenden had dien oorlogh, met moorden, roven en stelen, door de wilden aen d'onzen gepleegt, geduurt, als wanneer de twist in dezer voege bygeleit wiert.

Zeker *Hottentot* van aenziene, by d'onze genaemt *Herry* en by hen *Kamcemoea*, op 't robben-eilant gebannen, om zekeren misdaet, gepleegt aen ons volk, was by donkeren nacht, na een verblijf van drie maenden op dit eilant, t'effens met eenen anderen *Hottentot*, in een lek visch-schuitje, voorzien met twee riemen, de wind hen juist dienende, te lande gevaren, daer zy hun Negeryen van de *Gorachouquas* en *Goringhaiquas*, weer op vonden. Het ontvluchten dezer twee wilden, den Gouverneur *Riet-beek*, na eenige dagen door zekeren vryman van de *Saldanhabay*, die van daer quam gezeilt, aengedient, schikte hy des anderen daeghs zes Duitschen te landt uit, om zoo verre langs het strant te zoeken, tot dat het schuitje of eenigh teiken van dien by hen zoude gevonden zijn. Waer op deze, verzien met vorraet van eetwaren, voor vier of vijf dagen, uitgingen, en vonden des anderen daeghs, ruim elf mijlen van het Fort, in een fraie kleine zant-bay, het schuitje, hoog op droog gezet, met de riemen daer by, en wat gras daer in, of het scheen zy daer hun nacht-rust in genomen hadden, maer zagen geen menschen daer ontrent, nocte *Hottentots* op de gehele reize; doch niet zonder reinosters, olifanten, en ander wilt-gedierte genoegh te vernemen. Na een uitreise van vier dagen, quamen eindelijk de voorzeide zes perzonen onverrichter zake weer aen het Fort, met tijdinge aen den Gouverneur van hun wedervaren.

Ten lange lesten komt de voorzeide *Herry* of *Kamcemoea*, des jaers zestien hondert en zestigh, in Sprokkelmaent, aen het Fort, met den oversten van de negerye, genaemt *Chore*, verzelt met een getal van dertien schone vette beesten, en ruim hondert andere wilden, doch alle wapenloos, met verzoek van de vette beesten tot een erkentenis van vriendschap te willen aenvaerden, en hun het komen en gaen tot d'onzen, gelijk te vore, weer vergunnen. Daer en boven stonden zy den onzen toe, 't lant drie uren gaens in de ronde, met koren en ander zaet te mogen bezaien, doch met dien besprek van geen meer lant om te ploegen, als 'er alree was omgeploeght. Zoo dra dit verdragh ter weder-zijde mondelingh besloten was,

on the island, he and another Hottentot²³⁾ managed to make land in a leaky fishing-skiff provided with two oars, the wind favouring them. They found the settlements of their fellow Gorachouquas and Goringhaiquas again erected in the vicinity. The flight of these two savages was reported to Governor Riebeeck after a few days by a certain free burgher of Saldanha Bay,²⁴⁾ who came sailing from there. On the following day the Governor sent out six Dutchmen to go seeking along the shore until they came across the skiff or any sign of it. The men set out, with provisions of food for four or five days, and on the next day, just about eleven miles from the Fort, found the skiff lying high and dry in a pretty little sand bay, with the oars by it and some grass inside, as if someone had slept there at night. But they saw no people thereabouts, nor any Hottentots on the whole trip, although rhinoceros, elephants and other wild beasts were observed often enough. After a trip of four days, these six men at last came back to the Fort, without having achieved their object, and told the Governor of their adventure.²⁵⁾

At long last, in the month of February, 1660, the afore-said Harry or Kamcemoea came to the Fort with the Chief Chore, accompanied by thirteen fat cattle and more than a hundred other savages, all unarmed.²⁶⁾ They entreated that we should be willing to accept these fat cattle as a token of friendship, and that they should again be permitted to visit us as before. In addition they agreed to let us plough the land within three hours' journey of the Fort with corn and other seed, but on condition that we did not plough up any more land than was already under cultivation. As soon as this compact had been concluded on both sides by word of mouth, the Hottentots were regaled in the Fort with bread, tobacco and brandy, from which they made themselves dead drunk. The others, as soon as they learned that the dispute was settled, also came running

²³⁾ This man was a Gorachhouqua spy captured July 12, 1659, and used without success to guide Harry and the Dutch to the camping-places of his people. He was sent to Robben Island on Oct. 3, where Harry followed him in Oct. 20 (*D. ut cit.*).

²⁴⁾ *D.*, Dec. 8, 1659. The escape had taken place "8 or 10 days" before.

²⁵⁾ *Cf. D.*, Dec. 9-13, 1659.

²⁶⁾ Dapper's information is incorrect. The first pact was concluded on April 5-6 with the Capemen and their chief Gogosoa (*D., ut cit.*). Chore, "with a retinue of about 100 men, among them the eldest and principal of the tribe, bringing with them 13 head of cattle fairly old and young," did not come to sue for peace until a month later (*D.*, May 5, 1660).

wierden deze *Hottentots* een goet onthael van broot, tabak, met brandewijn, daer zy zich stom in dronken, binnen het Fort aengedaen: daer op d'andere, zo dra zy van 't byleggen des tunne verwittigt waren, weer met vrouw en kinderen uit hunne negeryen quamen gelopen, zoo dat zich wel twee of drie hondert, zoo mans als vrouwen en kinderen, in en ontrent het Fort bevonden.

Na een klene wijle komt zelf de overste der *Goringhaiquas*, of Kaepmans, met name *Gogosoa*, met versoeck van mede de wapenen te willen nederleggen, neffens d'overste *Chore*, waer door het Fort zoo vol wiert, dat er naulix ruimte om te staen was. Toen wiert 'er uit bevel van den Gouverneur *Rietbeek*, een gantsche baly vol brandewijn, met een houte kopje daer in, te midden onder hen allen neer gezet, daer een iegelijk begon goede giere te maken, en zijn hert, met lustigh te drinken, niet weinigh te vervrolijken en op te halen. Desgelijks zwolgen de vrouwen, die alle nevens hun kinderen op de hurken neerzaten, den brandewijn als water in; hoewel eenigen uit eenvoudigheid, niet met allen, en andere slechts een weinigh dronken.

Wanneer den mannen het hoofd begon te draien, en de benen te wagelen, dikwils met vallen ter neder op d'aerde, wierden 'er ontrent twee of drie hondert stukjes tabaks, elk van een duim breed, by handen vol te grabbel gesmeten, waer op onder hen zulk een groot getier en geschreeuw ontstont, datze het gehoor by na verdoofden, en het geluit den ooren nauwlix verdragelijk was; desgelijx bedreven zy geen minder geweld, wanneer daer na het zelfste met brood gedaen wiert. Na het eindigen van al deze grabbelingen, ging het by hen, wanneer zy gantsch vol gedronken, en de herssenen met den wijn bestoven waren, geduurigh op een dansen en springen, met zonderlinge grepen, en op een vreemde wijze, bijna even eens gelijk de bakkers hier te lande hun deegh met de voeten in den troch bewerken, te weten, al stampende, nu met d'een, en dan met d'andere voet, met uitstekende billen, en met hoofd al hangende geduurigh na d'aerde, op een zelve zijde. Geen minder vrolijkheit bedreven de vrouwen, geduurende het dansen der mannen, met klappen in de handen, en geduurigh een zelven zang van *ha, ho, ho, ho*, wel twee uren aen den anderen te zingen. Welk geraes van zingen en klappen in de handen der vrouwen, wel een scheut weeghs van het Fort gemakkelijk gehoord wiert. De wijze van dus luitruchtigh te schreeuwen en geluit te maken, wort by hen ook op het vernemen en de komste van eenigh wilt gedierte, 't zy leeuw of tyger, by nacht onderhouden, waer door het dier, uit schroom voor dien ongehoorden toon, wegh wijkt.

out of their villages with their women and children, until there were about two or three hundred of them, men, women and children, in and about the Fort.

After a short while Gogosoa himself, chief of the Goringhaiquas (Capemen), came with the request that he too wished to lay down his weapons together with Chief Chore. And now the Fort became so crowded that there was scarcely room to stand.²⁷⁾ Then at the command of Governor Riebeeck a whole cask full of brandy, with a wooden cup in it, was put down in the midst of all the Hottentots. Everyone now began to make good cheer, and to enjoy himself by drinking heartily. The women, too, who were all squatting down with their children, swilled down the brandy like water; although some, out of innocence, drank nothing at all, and others only a little.

When the men began to get giddy and their legs to stagger, so that often they fell to the ground, about two or three hundred pieces of tobacco, each an inch wide, were flung amongst them by handfuls to be scrambled for. Whereupon there ensued such a great clamour and din amongst them that they almost drowned all hearing, and the ringing of the ears became scarcely tolerable. Their uproar was no less violent when after that the same thing was done with bread. After all this scrambling was over, and they had drunk themselves full and were tipsy with the wine, they began to dance and jump about continuously with strange gestures and in a peculiar manner, almost like the bakers over here work the dough in the trays with their feet, by stamping, now with the one foot and then with the other, their buttocks sticking out, and the head always inclined on the one side to the ground. The women were no less jolly during the dancing of the men, clapping their hands and all along singing the self-same song of *ha, ho, ho, ho*, for wellnigh two hours on end. The sound of this singing and handclapping of the women could easily be heard a gunshot away from the Fort. They shout loudly and make an uproar in the same way at night, whenever they observe the approach of some wild beast like the lion or leopard, so that the beast, terrified by the unfamiliar din, slinks away.

²⁷⁾ The description that follows agrees fairly closely with the account given in D., May 6, 1660.

Na het befrijven van al deze vrolijkheden, wierden d'oversten met rode kralen, kopere stokken, en platen, en elk daer en boven met een rolletje tabak beschonken; maer de gemene *Hottentots* moesten zich met het voorzeide onthael vernoegt houden: waer op zy alle gezamentlijk, na dat een parthye dien nacht in het Fort geslapen had, weder vertrokken, uitgezeit, de voornoemde *Herry*, die noch drie of vier daegen daer verbleef.

De zelve *Herry* spreekt mede een weinigh Engelsch, geleert door het verkeren met d'Engelschen in *Bantam* in Indiën, daer d'Engelschen een vastigheid hebben, derwaerts hy van de kaep met een Engelsch schip over gevaren was; maer komende naderhant met een schip weer aen de kaep, begaf hy zich weder onder zijn volk.

COCHOQUAS OF SALDANHARS.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, alzo by d'onzen genoemd, om dat zich altijs meest ontrent en in de dalen van de *Saldanhabay* hebben onthouden, gelegen achtiën mijlen Noord-westwaerts van de kaep, leggen in vijf of zestien negeryen verdeilt, elk ontrent een vierendeel uurs van elkandre, en bewonen met hun allen ontrent vier hondert, of vier hondert en vijftigh huizen. Ieder negerye bestaat uit dertig, zes-en-dertig, veertig en vijftig huizen, meer en minder, alle in 't ronde gezet, en een weinigh van elkandre, daer binnen, versta binnen ieder negerye, de *Saldanhars* hun vee in bewaringh stellen.

Zy bezitten een groote menigte van schone beesten, wel over de hondert duizent, en ontrent twee hondert duizent schapen, die geen wol, maer langachtigh gekleurt hair op 't lijf hebben.

Al de *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, staen onder eenen overste of koning, met den tijtel van *Koehque*, dat gezeit is, een koning van 't *Hottentots* geslacht, die op ontrent vijftigh mijlen van de kaep wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, of *Tabaks-dieven*, desgelijx de *Goringhaiquas* of *Kaepmans*,

^{28a)} Bantam forms the western end of Java. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately gained the upper hand and took possession of the district in 1643. If Herry accompanied an English ship there, it must have been nearer 1640 than 1650.

^{28b)} Also mentioned in the records as *Cochonas*, *Kochehoqua*, etc., a name which Wuras (*op. cit.*, 289) interprets as "sheep owners". Van Riebeeck says of them that "the tribe consists of some thousands of men, and generally occupies the country in the middle, opposite to us, at the foot of the African Mountain range, extending from about False Bay to Saldanha Bay. They,

After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;^{28a}) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

COCHOQUAS OR SALDANHARS.

The Kochoquas^{28b}) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasturelands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

en de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoä*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoä*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoä*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoä* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy althijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrouwt aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoä*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, noit niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoä* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgesteld van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aangeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoä* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgezondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

²⁹⁾ For "Oldasoä" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoä) and "Gonnomoä" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoä van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoä's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 16, 1661), etc.

³⁰⁾ Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoä, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoä his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 28-29, 1659).

³¹⁾ Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoä did not die until 1689 or 1690 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 355); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240).

³²⁾ Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiso" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

³³⁾ Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Chariquas, Charinguriqua, Chariguriqua, Gregeriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was *≠Kari-huriqua*, i.e. the small (*≠kari*) tribe which lives

the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.²⁹⁾ The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.³⁰⁾ On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,³¹⁾ never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,³²⁾ except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas³³⁾ live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

at the sea (-*hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoä, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentots refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

ernereren zich, nevens de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, mede met zeer schoon vee, hun eenigste hoop en betrouwen, gemerkt zy in den drogen zomertijt niet anders hebben, dan van hun vee te leven.

Dus verre van de Hottentots, genaemt *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*, die dicht aen de kaep gelegen zijn; de verre te landwaerts in gelegen, zijn de *Chainouquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas* en *Hankumquas*, hoewel eenige de *Kobonas* niet onder de *Hottentots* rekenen.

CHAINOUQUAS.

De volken, genaemt in de lant-tale *Chainouquas*, zyn tegenwoordigh wel drie maenden reizens te lande in geweken, met huis, hof, vrouw, kinderen en vee, en wonen, na het zeggen van d'andere wilden, zeer na by de *Kobonas* lant; doch zijn niet boven de vier hondert menschen in getale, maar rijk van schoon vee.

De *Chainouquas* staen onder eenen overste, genaemt *Sousoä*, een out man: heeft twee vrouwen gehad doch beide doot: heeft eenen zoon genaemt *Goeboe*, dien zijn rechter been van eenen olifant te pletteren is getrapt, en kan het zelve tegenwoordigh door de verdorvenheit niet ter werelt gebruiken. Wanneer de *Chainouquas* met hunne negerye opbreken, moet deze *Goeboe* op een os zitten, en daer op en afgetilt worden. Zyn vrouw is genaemt *Kamisoä*.

De kleding van dezen overste *Sousoä*, is een schoon luipertsvet, met de beplekste en schoonste zijde na binnen gekeert, en d'onzienlijke vleeschzijde, wel vet besmeert, na 's lant-maniere, na buiten.

³⁴) See below, s.v. *Kobonas* (p. 28).

³⁵) Also mentioned in the early records as Chaynunqua, Chaynouqua, Chainouna. Wuras (*op. cit.*, 289) interprets their name as "those who are swollen or puffy in the face". The Dutch first came into contact with them in Sept. 1660, when "a certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentots dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas", and the name of their chief was Sousa (*Letters desp.*, iii, 183). The latter had "such power, and was so dreaded, that neither Oedasoä nor any of his subjects nor others would dare to come to us to trade, as long as these Chainouquas were in the neighbourhood; but they would all make

subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live.

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.³⁴⁾

CHAINOUQUAS.

The people named Chainouquas³⁵⁾ in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle.

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoä, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoä. The clothing of Chief Sousoä is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards.

way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op cit.*, 155; D., Feb. 25, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandize amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 200-201). The principal Chainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495-6).

KOBONAS.

De *Kobonas*, aen wiens lant de *Chainouquas* na by gelegen zijn, is een heel zwart volk, met zulk lang hair, dat hen over de ruch speelt, en tot op d'aerde neerhangt.

Deze zijn rechte mensch-eters: want zoo zy eenen *Hottentot* of ander mensch kunnen bekomen, dien braden zy levendigh en eten hem op. Zy hebben ook vee, dan niet zoo veel als andere volken, en planten kalbassen, daer zy zich mede erneren.

Zy hebben, na het verhael der *Hottentots* van de Kaep, rare maekselen, die zy uit het geberghte weten te vinden, en meer andere rariteyten. Noit heeft eenigh Neerlandervan de Kaep by deze volkeren geweest, ter oorzake van de verre te lande in.

Voor zeven of acht jaren, te weten des jaers zestien hondert negen-en-vijftigh, was een van des *Chainouquas* volk, genaemt *Chaihantimo*, ontrent de *Kabonas*-lant geweest, en had van daer, met hulp van zijn by-hebbende volk, een hunner vrouwen, uitgestreken met allerlei fraie dingen, wegh gestolen en geschaekt, en na zyne negerye gevoert, om voor zyne eigen vrouwe aen te nemen.

d'Onzen met begeerte ontsteken, om dit vreemt slagh van menschen te zien, (want zy had, volgens het zeggen van den gemelden schaker *Chaihantimo*, die zich toen aen de kaep bevont, hair op 't hooft, dat haer, los-gemaakt of ontvlochten, op de aerde nasleepte,) verzochten op *Chaihantimo*, deze vrouwe aen het Fort van goeder hope te willen ontbieden, waer in hy, op belofe van genot, hen te wille was, en schikte derwaerts eenigen van zyn volk af, om dezelve, met al wat zy had, te halen, en te zeggen dat haer jonghst getroude man haer ontboden hadde by een volk, genaemt Duitsman, dat vol klederen gingh behangen, en by deze vrouwe, noch noit by gene van de hare gezien was.

³⁶) Mentioned in van Riebeeck's list (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242) under the name of "Choboquas or Cobonas." In reality they were not *Hottentots*, but the name by which the *Hottentots* spoke of the Bantu (*AmaXhosa*). Van Riebeeck, on hearsay, speaks of them as "another race of men, who live in permanent dwellings made of wood, clay and other material, and also subsist on cattle and wear clothes" (*loc. cit.*). They are first mentioned by him in Oct. 1657, when he heard from the girl Eva a marvellous tale of "an emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives, and called them Chobona. He lives far inland, and is rich in gold, which is taken out of sand. They also know how to coin and stamp the coins, which they make as big as, or even bigger than, the palms of the hands. They have large

KOBONAS.

The Kobonas,³⁶) near whose land the Chainouquas dwell, are a very dark people, with hair so long that it flows over the back and hangs on to the ground. They are real cannibals, for if they can get hold of a Hottentot or any other person they roast him alive and eat him. They also have cattle, although not so many as other tribes, and plant gourds upon which they live. According to the reports of the Cape Hottentots, they have curious objects which they know how to get from the mountains, and still other rarities. No Hollander at the Cape has ever been to this tribe, owing to its remoteness.

About seven or eight years ago, in 1659, one of the Chainouquas, named Chaihantimo, was near to the land of the Kobonas, from which, assisted by his companions, he stole and carried off one of their women, decorated with all sorts of beautiful objects, and took her to his village to be his own wife.

Our countrymen, stirred with curiosity to see such strange people (who, according to the tale of this abductor Chaihantimo, then present at the Cape, had hair on the head which, when loose or unbound, dragged behind them on the ground), requested him to summon his wife to the Fort. To this he agreed, on promise of some reward, and accordingly sent several of his people to fetch her with all that she possessed. They were to tell her that her newly-married husband had summoned her to a people named Dutchmen, who went about fully covered with clothes, and whom neither she nor any of her people had ever seen.

houses of stone and beams, sowing with rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wear clothes and speak another language than those nearer the Cape" (D., Oct. 31, 1657). But Harry, a fortnight later, when van Riebeeck insisted that the Chobonas were the supreme rulers of the Hottentots, retorted angrily that his informants were "mad" (D., Nov. 15, 1657); he had seen some of them among the Chainouquas, although he had never been in their country, and describes them accurately as "black Caffres, like the Guinea and Angola slaves, dressed in calf and sheep skins, of which they have many" (D., Dec. 16, 1660). Van Riebeeck, however, haunted by the thought of their great wealth (in 1659 he speaks of them as "dwelling in towns and castles, and rich in gold and ivory"), sent out several expeditions to the north-east in search of them, "who found no Chobona and no gold, but plenty of Nama and abundance of copper" (Maingard, *op. cit.*, 490, where the official records are summarized). It was not until 1702 that the settlers first came into contact with them overland, when a party of freebooters "made a drive into the country of the Chabuquas, called the Great Caffres" (Maingard, *op. cit.*, 494).

De vrouwe, eensdeels uit onderdanigheid tot haren man, anderdeels mede nieuwsgierigh om vreemde volken in ander gewaet te zien, begeeft haer na een dagh of twee toestellens, uitgestreken in haer beste gewaet, op reize; onder een gelei van dertigh of veertigh *Chainouquas*, tot bystant en beschermingh tegen andere, inzonderheit tegen de *Kochoquas*, met wien de *Chainouquas* te dier tijde in 't oorlogh waren. Maer na een wyl reizens wiert zy door de voorzeide *Kochoquas* in een groot bosch besprongen, en doot geslagen, en al haer gieraet, kostelijkheid en gewaet met voeten getreden, en haer byhebbend volk op de vlucht gedreven, die, met achterlaten van twee of drie mannen, zich na de kaep by *Chaihantimo* begaven, om aen hem tijding van dit ongeval te doen; waer op dees aenstonts met zijn volk van daer na zijn lant vertrok, om zich door de wapenen, over dezen hoon aen de *Kochoquas* of *Zaldanhars* te wreken; maer was veel te zwak van volk tegen de *Saldanhars*.

SONQUAS.

De *Sonquas* is een volk, dat zijn woonplaets in heel machtigh hoogh gebergte heeft, en eenige duizenden sterk is.

Het is een heel klein volk, beide mannen en vrouwen, hebben geen vee, maer leven op hun pijl en boge, daer zy wonder vaerdigh mede weten om te gaen, met schieten van dassen, die hun schuilplaetzen onder de klippen hebben, en op 't heetste van den dagh daer boven komen opsitten, en zich bakeren en wentelen, daer dan de *Sonquas* dezelve in grote menigte met hunne pijlen treffen, en ter neer schieten. Zy gaen ook op de jacht van grof en groot wilt vee, inzonderheit van wilde paerden en muil-ezels.

³⁷⁾ Dapper's version of this episode is not quite accurate. Chaihantima had visited the Fort several times during 1657 and 1658, and told van Riebeeck that one of his wives had lived in the house of the Chobona and been educated there, and that she was covered with many ornaments of gold and pearls (D., Oct. 31, 1657). This woman was not a "native Chobonar, but had been taken by them from one of the rebel tribes of Hottentots." In Dec. 1658 van Riebeeck heard from Eva that Chaihantima, "in consequence of our continuous requests, had been induced to visit us . . . with a large number of cattle and men, as well as with his wife (who had very long hair falling down to her feet) whom he wished to introduce to us; but having approached the Fort at a distance of 4 or 5 days journey, he was met there by the Cochoquas, and as shortly before there had been some differences between them, he was attacked by the latter who were very strong, and lost the battle. His wife fell into the hands of the enemy, and with a lot of men was killed. All her property and jewels were considered by the Hottentots as dirt, and were scattered and lost. Chaihantima saved himself by

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chalhantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.³⁷⁾

SONQUAS.

The Sonquas³⁸⁾ are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits^{38a)} with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting

flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainouquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chalhantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

³⁸⁾ Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-/Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660).

^{38a)} *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."

Men heeft by hen wilde paerden en muil-ezels, die beide zo schoon uit de natuur in 't wilt voorttellen, dat geen schilder de kunst by hem heeft, om die met alle hare verruwen na 't leven af te tekenen. De paerden hebben billen buiten gewoon geappelt, en zijn overal buiten de billen, zoo wel onder als boven, gestreept met geel, zwart, root, en zuiver hemels blaau. Desgelijks zijn de muil-ezels mede gestreept, maer niet geappelt, met wit en kastanje-bruin, buiten gemeen schoon.

De *Sonquas* braghten des jaers zestien hondert en twee-en-zestigh een hui van een dezer beesten aen de kaep van goeder hope, die d'onzen van hen ruilden, tegen tabak en andere dingen, en te pronk, met hoi opgevult, als iets raers en ongemeens, gelijk het ook is, op de voor-zael van het Fort ophingen, om van het volk der aenkomende schepen bezichticht te worden.

Het dassen-vlees verstrekt den *Sonquas* een aengename spijs, daer by, en by zekere worteltjes, die in d'aerde wassen, zy voornamelijk leven. Zy houden ook zeer vele jacht-honden, die op de dasse-jacht wel zijn afgerecht, en de dassen uit de holen weten te slepen, 't welk hun meeste spijs is.

Het zijn ongemene grote rovers en stropers; want zy stelen van andere Hottentots al het vee, dat zy kunnen krijgen, en vluchten daer mee aenstonts in het geberghte, zonder van iemant, zelf van geen andere Hottentots, in die schuilhoeken en verhole gaten te kunnen gevonden worden.

Hunne huizen, slechts van takken te gader gevlochten, zonder gebreide matten, en alleenlijk met biezen overdekt, zijn ettelijke duizent in getale, naerdien zy van d'eene in d'andere trekken, en nooit die opbreken, maer op gelegene plaetzen noch al meer andere opzetten.

Hun mantelkens zijn gemaekt van t'zamen genaide vellen der wilde ossen, die zich op de klippen onthouden. De vrouwen hebben voor de hitte en het branden der stekende zonne-stralen, een *quitazol*, of zonne-scherm van struisveren, aen en om het hoofd vast gemaekt.

³⁹⁾ Dr. W. J. Leyds, quoted by Godée-Molsbergen (*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 47 n.), suggests that the "horses" were zebras and the "mules" quaggas, which seems consistent enough with the description.

⁴⁰⁾ On Nov. 8, 1660, the *Sonquas* "brought in 2 or 3 stuffed heads, which were extraordinarily beautifully striped, but with ears as long as those of asses. The rest of the head is exactly, as regards head and mouth, that of a horse" (D., *ut. cit.*). In the entry for Dec. 14, 1660, it is said that "one of our people . . .

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.³⁹⁾ The Sonquas in 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.⁴⁰⁾

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,^{40a)} trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

^{40a)} Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.

NAMAQUAS.

De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachtigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig, wierden door het Opperhoofd van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelikheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vriendschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uren duurende, en in groote vrolijkheit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulk alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aangewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

⁴¹⁾ First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas⁴¹⁾ live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.⁴²⁾ They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.⁴³⁾

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

⁴²⁾ This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the *Dagverhaal* of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 1, 46-63.

⁴³⁾ Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

Des zelve jaers wierden ten zelfsten einde weer dertien lief-hebbers uitgezonden, die den viertienden van Slachmaent uit-trokken, en des volgenden jaers, den dertienden van Sprokkel-maent, met hun twaelfven, (want een was 'er verminkt, en jammerlijk om hals geraekt door eenen olifant) wederkeerden, met verslagh, van over de hondert mijlen in 't lant geweest te zijn, zonder eenige *Namaquas* te kunnen vinden; maer wel, ontrent de woon-plaets der *Namaquas* van verlede jaer, een negerye van de Hottentots, genaemt de grote *Karichuriquas*, die hen wisten te zeggen, dat de *Namaquas* heel verre, en diep te lande waren ingetogen, en dezen jare geen kans waer dezelve t'onderhalen. Zulx deze en voorige lant-tocht om gout, vruchteloos quam uit te vallen.

De *Namaquas*, volgens ondervinding der onzen, zijn luiden groot van gestalte, byna als halve reuzen, sterk van volk en rijk van kinderen.

Daer zijn vele bokken, van een zelve gedaente, gelijk hier in Hollant, desgelijx schapen, die zy van de *Brygoudijs* handelen, daer zy by duizenden zijn.

Men heeft 'er ook veel groote kalbassen in 't wilt, daer zy hun melk in bewaren.

Het vrouwvolk is schoon van leest, en welgesteld van leden.

Zij gaen alle met bereide beeste-vellen om 't lijf geslagen, doch niet zoo smerigh, gelijk na by de kaep.

Deze vellen zijn vergiert met vele en glaze Kambaysche kralen, die zy van de Portugesen diep in 't lant, ontrent de plaetsen van *Monomotapa*, *Kortada*, *Bellugarins*, &c. tegen hun vee verruilen.

De mans-perzonen hebben een plaet, gemaekt zeer kunstigh van olifants tanden, voor hunne schamelheit gebonden, en een ronde ringh van de zelve tanden, aen den eenen arm, desgelijx veel kopere ringen.

⁴⁴⁾ Soon after the return of Cruythoff's expedition, another party under van Meerhoff was sent out to induce the Namaqua to come and trade at the Fort. It left on March 21, 1661, and returned on April 23, having gone beyond the limit attained by its predecessor but failing to reach the Nama chief (D., April 23, 1661). A further expedition was accordingly sent out on Nov. 14, 1661, under Pieter Everaerts, which, as mentioned by Dapper, returned Feb. 13, 1662. The journal of this expedition is appended to the Dagverhaal entry of the latter date, and is obviously the basis of Dapper's brief account of its progress.

⁴⁵⁾ Dapper's description is based mainly on Meerhoff's journal of the first successful expedition, but has some additional details probably obtained orally from other members of the party.

⁴⁶⁾ Van Riebeeck says: "Their king had sent the commander (of the expedition) a small goat, the first that we had ever seen in this country, regarding which goat they had spoken a

In the same year thirteen volunteers were again sent out for the same purpose.⁴⁴⁾ They set out on the 14th November, and on the 13th February in the following year twelve of them returned, for one was unfortunately mutilated and killed by an elephant. They reported that they had been over a hundred miles inland, without being able to find any Namaquas; but that, near where the Namaquas had camped the previous year, they had come across a settlement of the Hottentots named Great Karichuriquas, who told them that the Namaquas had trekked very far inland, and that there was no chance this year of reaching them. Both this and the previous expedition for gold thus turned out to be fruitless.

The Namaquas, according to the discoveries of our countrymen,⁴⁵⁾ are people of big stature, not far from gigantic; strong in numbers, and with many children. They own many goats, of the same appearance as here in Holland, as well as sheep, which they barter from the Brygoudys, who have them in thousands.⁴⁶⁾ There also many large gourds are found growing wild, in which they store their milk.

The women are beautifully formed and with well-proportioned limbs. They all go with dressed animal skins fastened round the body, although not so greasy as at the Cape. These skins are decorated with many Cambayan glass beads, bartered for cattle from the Portuguese far inland in the districts of Monomotapa, Kortada, Bellugarins, etc.⁴⁷⁾ The men bind a plate, very artistically made of

great deal whisperingly before they gave it" (D., March 11, 1661). Van Meerhoff simply says: "Towards evening the king's son brought us another sheep and a young goat, which we were obliged to accept." It is evident from van Riebeeck's statement that none of the Cape Hottentots at this time possessed goats. The Naman obtained their goats (not their sheep, as stated by Dapper) through barter with the BaThlaping, a Chwana (Bantu) tribe, whom they called Birina (Biriqua, Briqua, Bryckje, etc.), i.e. goat people (from biri-, goat).

⁴⁷⁾ In the "Instructions" drawn up for the party which left for "Monomotapa" on Nov. 11, 1660, under Jan Danckerts occur the names: "Cortado, on the river Infante, situated about 40 Dutch miles from the sea shore, and about 110 in a north-easterly direction overland from this . . . thence, further N by E, about 40 miles further, is situated, besides other places on either side, a town named Belugaris, on the river St. Lucia" (D., *ut cit.*). The idea that the Namaqua traded with the Portuguese was suggested to van Riebeeck by a message from the chief of the Great Charichuriqua sent through Meerhoff (D., April 23, 1661): there is no concrete evidence to support it. *Cambay*, the chief town of the State of Cambay, province of Gujārat, Bombay Presidency, was in the 17th century a noted centre for the manufacture of agate cups, beads, etc.

De vrouwen gaen moeder-naekt, en hebben niet dan een klein velleken, gelijk dicht aen de kaep, voor haar schamelheit gebonden, en dragen aen een stok op het hoofd, gelijk de *Sonquas* vrouwen, voor het steken der zonne, des zomers zonne-schermen van struis-veren.

Ieder *Namaquas* heeft althijts een klein licht en frai stoeltje, gemaekt van hout en tou, zonder yzer of koper, aen den arm hangen, dat zy overal by zich draeght, om daer op te zitten.

De bestiering staet aen eenen koning, geheten *Akambia*, die drie zonen heeft van een ongemene lengte.

BRYGOUNDYS.

Noch verder te lande in, dan de *Namaquas* leggen, woont een ander volk, genaemt *Brygoudijs*, daer af weinigh by onkunde te schrijven valt, naerdien zy noit by d'onzen gevonden zijn.

Het is, 't geen d'onzen, die noit deze volken hebben kunnen vinden, aen de kaep, uit den mont der *Namaquas* hebben, een talrijk volk, en zoo magtigh en rijk van vee, als alle de *Hottentots* ontrent de kaep van goeder hope.

De *Namaquas* en de *Brygoudijs*, voeren tegen elkandre sterke oorlogen.

HEUSAQUAS.

De *Hottentots*, genaemt *Heusaquas*, leggen ontrent noord-west-waerts van de kaep van goeder-hope, zeer verre en diep te lande-waerts in. Weinig kennis hebben d'onzen aen de kaep tot noch toe van den wandel en omganch dezer volken bekomen, en niet dan uit den mondt van andere *Hottentots*; aengezien noit iemand hun woon-plaetsen gevonden heeft, nochte noit zijn meer dan drie van hen aen het Fort van goeder hope geweest, die met

⁴⁸⁾ Van Riebeeck says more accurately: "Ivory also seems to be more abundant among them than among the Cape Hottentoots, as may be observed from the very thick arm rings which they wear of it on their arms, as well as from the rare plates of the same article on a beautifully pleated and prepared skin worn like a little apron before their private parts" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 244).

⁴⁹⁾ Van Meerhoff merely says: "The king sat on his chair a little distance off. This chair is a round piece of wood three or four fingers thick, beautifully ornamented with beads, and is generally carried with them wherever they go". This one can hardly interpret, as Dapper does, to imply that every man had a stool of this sort.

⁵⁰⁾ See above, n. 46. Van Riebeeck gives the name first as Bryckje (March 10, 1661) and later as "Brygoudys, ere this wrongly mentioned as Brichje" (Apr. 23, 1661).

ivory, in front of their private parts,⁴⁸⁾ and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.⁴⁹⁾ The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

BRYGOUTYS.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,⁵⁰⁾ of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.⁵¹⁾

HEUSAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas⁵²⁾ lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

⁵¹⁾ Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

⁵²⁾ Also referred to as Hessaqua, Hassequa, Essaquas, etc. First mentioned in the *Dagverhaal* (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hesaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumquar . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 496, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *heib*, tree, -se, adj. ending, -qua).

den overste van de *Chainouquas* daer eenige beesten en schapen quamen verhandelen, gaende aenstonts weder met hem naer hunne woonplaetsen.

De *Heusaquas* zijn vee-rijk: dan deze alleen ernerer zich ook met 't planten (want geen onder al de daer te lande gevonden Hottentots planten of zaaien, dan alleen de *Heusaquas*,) van zekeren krachtigen wortel, dien zy *dacha* noemen, en eten om dronken te worden; hoewel zy den zelve bywijlen ook met water mengen, om te drinken. Wanneer het eten en drinken des wortels *dacha* hen de hersenen bedwelmt en bevangen heeft, stellen zy zich, met het bedrijven van vreemde grepen en wonderlijke grillen, als dolle en uitzinnige menschen aen; onder welk krioel en gewoel, de vrouwen komen, en zeker fijn geklopt en gewreven kruit, genaemt *boggoa*, op hun hoofd stroien. Dit kruit, dat geel en sterk-riekend is, wast op het hoogh geberghte, met klompen of klauwen aen de klippen, in groten overvloed, en wort van de mans opgezocht, en van de vrouwen bereit.

Ontrent de *Heusaquas* leggen de vee en volkrijke *Hankumquas*, doch zijn noit by d'onzen aen het Fort geweest.

De *Heusaquas* zijn byzonder vaerdigh met jonge en oude leeuwen om te gaen, die zy in strikken weten te vangen, en te temmen, met een bant aen den hals, als een hont. Zy trekken ook wel met leeuwen, die zy lang gehad, en heel tam gemaekt hebben, ten oorloge, en kunnen daer mee den vyant, zonder moet van eenige tegenstant te bieden, in de route op de vlucht drijven; 't geen velen vrent wil voorkomen, en echter in 'er daet onder hen gepleeght wort.

* * * *

⁵³⁾ *Leonotis leonurus*, whose leaves are still smoked by the S.A. natives like those of Indian hemp, producing a similar stupefying effect. Dapper is wrong in stating that the Hessequa cultivated this plant. Van Riebeeck terms them "regular dagga makers of the Hancumquas" (Sept. 27, 1660), but says of the latter (from hearsay evidence also) that "they plant and dry a certain plant *dacha*, which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242; cf. D., Dec. 16, 1661). Maingard, after discussing all the evidence, concludes that these Hottentots never cultivated dagga, but that they traded in it, which probably gave rise to the legend (*op. cit.*, 493).

⁵⁴⁾ More correctly *buchu*, a common name to this day in S. Africa for various species of *Barosma* and *Diosma*, much used by natives as a sweet-smelling powder.

⁵⁵⁾ First mentioned, as Chancumqua, in the list of tribes given by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657), supplemented later by the statement that they cultivated dagga (D., June 21, 1658). Soeswa told van Riebeeck that the chief of these "Hancumquas" was "the chief lord of all the Hottentoo tribes" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). All that

ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*⁵³). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullabaloo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*⁵⁴). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas⁵⁵), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them⁵⁶).

* * * *

was known of them in 1662 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant *dacha*. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 492). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

⁵⁶) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

Wat voorders belanght de . . . zeden, spijs, kleding, wapenen, tale, bestiering en gods-dienst dezer volken in 't algemeen, die hebben zich in dezer wijze; doch staet aen te merken, dat al het geen ons daer van te verhandelen staet, voornamelijk van de *Hottentots*, dicht aen de kaep gelegen, te verstaen sy, als zy de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*; aengezien men van d'andere, te landewaerts in gelegen *Hottentots*, als de *Vanouquas* (sic), *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas*, *Brigoudys*, *Hankumquas*, tot noch toe weinigh berichts, door de verre gelegenheit, heeft bekomen, dan alleen 't geen te voore by ieder is verhaelt; hoewel zy ook meest in alles, zoo veel de onzen uit hooren zeggen, en navorschen, hebben kunnen vernemen, met de voorzeide naest aen de kaep gelegen *Hottentots* over een komen.

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WEZEN DER KAFFERS OF HOTTENTOTS.

Wat belanght het wezen en stal des lichaems der *Hottentots*, als de *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas* en *Gorachouquas*, dat zijn de Watermans, Kaepmans en Tabaks-dieven, die ontrent en na by de kaep van Goeder Hope wonen, is een volk van middelbare gestalte of grote, doch rang, door den bank, en lelijk van lichaem, en onaengeziene van perzone; van verruwe geelachtigh, gelijk *Mulaten*, of geelachtige *Javanen*; maer die ontrent de vleesch-bay zijn wat kleender, als de luiden hier te lande, bruin-ros van verruw, doch d'een meer dan d'ander.*

Het hair des hoofts is hen allen, ontrent de kaep, gelijk lammeren wol, kort gekrult, doch het vrou-volk heeft dat dikker, dan het man-volk; inzonderheit de *Kobonas-vrouwen*.

Het voorhoofd hebben zy redelijk breed, maer gerimpelt; zeer schone en zwarte oogen, en zoo klaer en zuiver als een valk; doch alle, zoo mans, vrouwen als kinderen, platachtige neuzen, hoewel niet alle even plat: daer by meest alle de lippen dik, inzonderheit de bovenste, die op en uitstekend staet. De mont is wel gefatsoeneert, en heeft zijn behoorlijke grote in alle manieren, met zeer schone en zuivere witte tanden, als ivoir, daer beneven hart, waer door het gebit hen zeer stijf is.

*This description is obviously derived from *Hondius (op. cit., 560)*: "Omtrend de Tafel-Bay zijnze middelbaar van grootte, Mager van lighaam, Gelue van kouleur gelijk *Moulaten*, ofte Geel-agtigh als *Javanen*. Omtrend de Vleesch-bay zijnze wat kleiner als de *Nederlanders*, Bruyn-ros van kouleur dogh d'een meer als d'ander. Beyde deezen *Natien* zijn zeer lelijk van Aangezicht."

Further, as regards the manners, food, clothing, weapons, languages, government and religion of these tribes in general, they are as follows. But it should be noted that everything we are going to describe must be taken as referring especially to the Hottentots close to the Cape, i.e. the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas or Saldanhars, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas; since, owing to the remoteness of the other, more inland, Hottentots, like the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudys and Hankumquas, we have so far received little report of them other than what has already been related in connexion with each. Nevertheless, as far as our countrymen could judge from hearsay and investigation, they agree in almost every respect with the Hottentots living nearest to the Cape.

* * * *

BUILD OF THE KAFIRS OR HOTTENTOTS.

In build and shape of the body the Hottentots, such as the Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas and Gorachouquas (Watermen, Capemen and Tobacco Thieves) living at and near the Cape, are on the average people of medium stature, but slender, with ill-formed bodies and insignificant appearance, and yellowish in colour, like mulattos or yellowish Javanese. But those round Vleesch Bay⁵⁷⁾ are somewhat smaller than people here at home, and brownish-red in colour, although to a varying extent.

The hair on the head is, among all those at the Cape, short and curly, like the wool of lambs, but thicker in the women than in the men, especially among the Kobona women. The forehead is reasonably broad, but wrinkled; the eyes beautifully black, and as clear and pure as those of the hawk. But men, women and children all have flattened noses, more marked in some than in others; and in addition their lips are almost always thick, especially the upper, which is turned up and out. The mouth is well shaped and of normal size and proportions, with teeth beautifully clean and white, like ivory, and hard, so that the bite is firm.

⁵⁷⁾ Vleesch Bay (Flesh Bay), close to the mouth of the Gouritz River, near Mossel Bay, was so named by the Dutch in 1601 because here they bought a large quantity of cattle and sheep from the natives in exchange for iron (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i. 7).

De hals is van tamelijke lengte, met smalle schouderen en langachtige armen, doch voor na de handen heel mager en dun. De handen zijn van goeden maeksel; de vingeren lang, daer zy nagelen laten aanwassen als arents-klaauwen, by hen voor een gieraedt geacht.

Byna hen allen is de buik dun en rang, met uitstekende billen, ter oorzake het lichaem, van gewaet ontbloot of in 't los gewaet gekleet, niet in evenwicht of pranginge gehouden wort. Zy zijn frai en frisch van benen, doch velen dun van kuiten, maer hebben, inzonderheit het vrou-volk, zeer fraie en kleine voeten. Zijn vluch te voet, en zoo sterk, dat eenigen eenen stier, in vollen loop, gemakkelijk kunnen tegen houden, en doen stil staen. Begaeft boven gemeen met een grote mannelijkheit.

Het vrou-volk is klein van stal, inzonderheit onder de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, en worden daer eenigen zoo besneden van troni gevonden, (waer toe niet weinigh helpt, dat zy gene maselen, nochte kinder-pokken onder-warigh zijn,) als met een penzeel zoude kunnen afgetrokken worden, behalve dat zy wat platachtigh van neuze vallen. Dan vallen boven mate, versta de getroude, groot van boesem, ook zoo groot, dat zy de borsten, die zy los en bloot hebben hangen, den kinderen van achteren over de schouderen, daer zy die gemeenlijk op dragen, in den mont kunnen te zuigen geven; doch de ongetroude wederom niet. Het schijnt als of haer de voeringe los is, alzoo haer op zommige plaetsen wat uithangt.

Al de *Kaffers* of *Hottentots*, is een volk, berooft van alle wetenschap, en letteren; zeer plomp, en in verstant meer den beesten als menschen gelijk; hoewel eenigen, door het gestadigh verkeerren met d'onzen, de vonken van hunnen menschelijken aerdt allengs doen te voorschijn komen; gelijk zommigen ook aen 't Fort de Duitsche tale beginnen te begrijpen.

⁵⁸⁾ I have been unable to find any evidence in confirmation of this statement.

⁵⁹⁾ The swiftness of the Hottentots is mentioned by most of the early observers as being particularly noteworthy, and the ease with which they generally managed to flee from their pursuers is often commented upon. Fritsch, however, remarks with justice that their scanty clothing and their familiarity with the country inevitably gave them a considerable advantage over the fully-dressed Dutch with their heavy footwear, and adds that in his experience he found nothing to confirm the idea that the Hottentots were exceptionally fleet-footed (*Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, 304).

⁶⁰⁾ An exaggeration; there is nothing unusual in size about the genital organs of the male Hottentots.

The neck is moderately long, shoulders narrow, and arms rather long but quite slender and lean at the wrists. The hands are of good shape, and the fingers long, for they regard it as ornamental to let their finger nails grow like eagles' claws ⁵⁸). The belly with almost all of them is lean and slender and the buttocks protrude, with the result that the body, when stripped or lightly clad, is not evenly balanced. Their legs are fine and shapely, although often with slender calves; but the women especially have very pretty small feet. They are fleet-footed and so vigorous that some of them can easily keep up with a bull in full gallop and run it to a standstill ⁵⁹). They are endowed with male organs of more than usual size ⁶⁰).

The women are small in build, especially among the Kochoquas or Saldanhars. Some are found with features so regular (due in no small measure to the fact that they are not subject to measles or small-pox) that they could have been drawn with a pencil, except that they are somewhat flat in the nose. The married women, however, have exceedingly big bosoms, so big that their breasts, which hang loose and uncovered, can be passed back over the shoulders to suckle the children whom as a rule they carry there⁶¹). But this does not hold for the unmarried ones. The lining of the body appears to be loose, so that in certain places part of it dangles out ⁶²).

All the Kafirs or Hottentots are people bereft of all science and literature, very uncouth, and in intellect more like beasts than men. Some, however, through steady intercourse with our countrymen, gradually let the sparks of their human nature come to light, just as several at the Fort are also beginning to grasp the Dutch language.

⁶¹) Among the Hottentots a child was suckled till it was two or three years old. The mother, when going out on her daily occupations, carried it with her on her back in a lambskin passed under her arms and knotted over the breast. Dapper's reference to the mother's breast being pushed up over her shoulder so that the baby can suck while still on her back is confirmed by several later writers (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 268).

⁶²) This very discreetly worded sentence refers to the well-established fact that among Hottentot women the labia minora are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 60 mm. beyond the rima pudendi. This hypertrophy, the so-called "Hottentot apron", has been regarded by some writers as artificially produced by manipulation, but Schultze, who has studied it carefully, maintains that it is a natural physiological characteristic (*Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten*, 185).

Dan schoon deze land-aerds onbeslepen van herrssenen, vuil en rouw van leven zijn, bewijzen echter de wet der volken zoo wel ongeschonden onder hen in onderhout te zijn, als onder de gemanierste volken van Europa: want behalven zy dat in meenige voorvallen hebben doen blijken, kan tot een stael, of proefstuk, daer van dienen, 't geen de *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans, die des jaers zestien hondert en negen-en-vijftigh met d'onzen in twist en oneenigheid vervallen waeren, op de vraegh, wat reden zy hadden om den onzen de onlusten aen te doen, en de beesten weg te roven, tot antwoord gaven, te weten, uit gene andere inzichten zulx te geschieden, als om hun leet en ongelijk te wreken, over het wegh-nemen en bezaien van hunne zailanden door d'onzen, gelijk alree vooren verhaelt is.

In milt en trouheit tegen hun naesten, schijnen zy de Neerlanders te beschamen, en ten aenziene als d'een wat heeft, dat den ander gewillighlijk zal mede delen: ja, al waert noch zoo klein, zoo trachten zy altijts met elkandre broederlijk te parten en te delen: want het stelen geschiet zomtijts onder hen, door 't eten van den wortel *dācha*, dien zy met water mengen, en indrinken, en daer door dronken worden, en hen dan onwetende te buiten gaen; anderen, geperst door armoede, zoeken wel hier en daer wat achterom te halen, doch moeten zulx, in 't licht gekomen, dier met de huid betalen. Dan zijn onbeschaemt, en laten om een klein stukje broot of tabak, al zien wat zy hebben.

Daer schijnt nochtans by hen ook een vonk van hovaerdye te zijn: want alsze by d'onzen aen het Fort van goeder hope komen, dan hangen zy hunne vuilste besmeerste en stinkenste vellen om, en hebben d'ooren en hals vergiert, met rode en kopere gele kralen, achtende zich dan wonder prachtigh gestoffeert en uitgestreken te zijn.

Daer wort onder hen, in hoe slechten en armelijken staet zy leven, evenwel een hoog-hertigheid gevonden; gemerkt d'eeene negerye tegen d'andere niet wil zwichten, en voor elkandre buigen; maer zullen veel liever den oorlogh aenzeggen. De geen, die de zege bevecht, speelt niet alleen heer en meester voor die reize, maer altijts braveert hy over zijnen overwonnen vyant.

⁶³) See above, p. 13.

⁶⁴) Many observers have commented favourably upon the liberality and hospitality of the Hottentots. A man in possession of food, tobacco, and other objects of common use, shares, and is expected to share, them with others, and greediness in this

Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described ⁶³).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner ⁶⁴). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze ⁶⁵).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 320).

⁶⁵) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique*, 16.) Cf. also Ten Rhyne (below, p. 115).

KLEDING DER MANNEN.

De kleding of draght der Kaffers of Hottentots, is zonderlingh slordigh, slecht en van kleen belangh. De meesten, versta de mannen, hebben slechts een schapevacht of robben-vel of dassen-huit, of het vel van eenigh ander gedierte, op de maniere van een mantel onder geront, om de schouderen, en het boven en onder-lijf geslagen, tot aen de billen, met het ruich of hair gemeenlijk na buiten, of na binnen, en onder de kin toegebonden.

Dusdanige een mantel bestaan uit drie stukken, zeer net met zenuwen van beesten, in stede van garen, aen elkandre genaait, gelijk by hen in plaetse van stale of yzere naelden, een hert scherp dorentje gebruikt wort, daer zy zich, by mangel van stale, byzonder mede weten te behelpen.

De *Heusaquas* gaen een weinigh anders gekleet, als de Hottentots aen de kaep van Goeder hope, te weten, hun manteltjes, gemaekt van vellen, zijn vol streepjes, en met riemtjes benait en behangen.

Behalve deze kleding, de gewoonlijke draght, hebben zy, wanneerze uit of op de reize gaen, noch een ander schapen vel, met de wol of ruichte na buiten, over de voorzeide onderste vacht hangen.

Het hoofd-deksel is een muts, gemaekt van een jong lammeren vel, met het ruigh na binnen, en boven met een knopje, die zy des nachts, of als het regent, op-zetten.

De schoenen zijn gemaekt van een reinosters of neushorens vel daer by geen verslijten aen is, en bestaan uit een gantsch platten lap, achter en voor even hoogh, met een kruis van twee lere riemen op de ruch der voet vast gemaekt, en achter met een hielbant, gelijk de Kapucijnen dragen.

De schamelheit wort bedekt, en behangen met een klein velletje van een wilde bos-kat of bonten tyger, of jakhals, achter met twee neerhangenden riemtjes toegebonden.

KLEDING DER VROUWEN.

De dracht der vrouwen is mede een mantel, gemaekt gemeenlijk van schapen vellen, over het boven lijf, met de wol na binnen; doch dragen die wat langer als de mans, en hebben daar beneven een vel om het onder-lijf gebonden, tot bedekking van hare naekte billen, en een vierkant velleken voor hare schamelheit.

Op 't hoof dragen zy mede een wel hoge en wijde muts, gemaekt van een schapen, dassen of robben vel, die zy met een brede schapen vellen riem om 't hoofd toebinden, by na op een zelve maniere, gelijk de Vriesche of Molquerer vrouwen een lakensche wijde muts of lap dragen, met een

CLOTHING OF THE MEN.

The clothing of the Kafirs or Hottentots is singularly sordid and mean, and of little interest. Most of the men have only a sheep's fleece or sealskin or rock-rabbit hide, or the skin of some other animal, rounded below in the shape of a cloak. This is tucked over the shoulders, covering the upper and lower parts of the body down to the buttocks, and is fastened under the chin. The furry or hairy side is commonly turned either outwards or inwards. A cloak of this kind consists of three portions, cleverly stitched together with animal sinews instead of thread (just as instead of steel or iron needles they use a hard and sharp little thorn, with which they can manage very well in the absence of steel). The Heusaquas go about dressed somewhat differently from the Hottentots at the Cape; their little skin cloaks are full of leather strips sewn on and dangling down.

Apart from this, their customary garment, they wear on journeys still another sheepskin, which hangs with its woolly side outwards over the skin already mentioned.

The head is covered with a cap made from the skin of a young lamb, with the hairy side turned in, and with a little pommel on top. They put this on at night or when it rains. Their shoes consist of quite flat and uniformly level patches of tough rhinoceros hide, which cannot be worn out, fastened to the ridge of the foot by two leather cross-strips, and at the back by a heel-band, similar to that worn by the Capuchin friars. The genitals are covered over with a tiny bit of wild bush cat, spotted leopard or jackal skin, fastened at the back with two little dangling riems.

CLOTHING OF THE WOMEN.

The clothing of the women is also a cloak, usually of sheep skin, which is worn over the upper part of the body, with the woolly surface inwards, and is somewhat longer than that of the men. In addition, they have another skin tied round the lower part of the body, to cover the naked buttocks, and a small rectangular bit of skin in front of the pudenda. On the head they also wear a fairly high and wide cap, made from the skin of a sheep, rock-rabbit or seal. They tie this to the head with a broad strip of

brede zelfkant los toegebonden. Zijn anders van de mannen in kleding niet te onderscheiden, gelijk haer schoenen mede van een zelfste maeksel en stoffe zijn, als die van de mans. Gelijk hun kledingh slecht en slordigh is, zoo bestaet mede het optoisel en gieradje des lichaems meer in een slordige, dan nette zinnelijkheid.

CIERAEDJEN.

De mans hebben het hair vergiert met kopere plaetjes, duite, witte horentjes en grote kralen, en scheren dat op zommige plaetsen wat af, en laten dat hier en daer wat staen, byna op een zelve wijze, gelijk hier te lande de waterhonde geschoren worden.

De mans plukken al het hair om de kin uit, en beschilderen of bestrijken het aenzicht met zwarte verruwe, om zich zwart te maken, 't welk by hen voor een grote gieraet gehouden wort; desgelijx besmeren zy hun lichaem en aenzicht met smeer en vet; zoo dat zy in alles beestachtig, wilt, ruig, en vuil van leven zijn*; en daer uit zien als ofze ooit gewassen waren. De strantlopers, dat zijn de Hottentots, die dicht aen de kaep op strant wonen, en gewoon zijn aen de schepen der Neerlanders te komen, vervoegen zich datelijken by de koks ketel, en besmeren en bestrijken zich met het vet en het zwart van de ketel; gelijk ook zelfs de oversten, dus uitgestreken te zijn, voor een gieraet houden.

De zommigen hebben tot gieraet hun eigen huid met kerven en sneden doorhakkelt, daer zy eenigh vet of ongel insteken, waer door zy zeer komen te stinken, en zulk een bange en sterke ruik van zich te geven, dat men hun aankomste op honderd treden gewaer wort.

Vee-rijke luiden, beide mannen en vrouwen, hebben de buitenste zijde hunner manteltjes, desgelijx de mutzen, wel vet en zacht besmeert, 't welk een teken van vee-rijkheit in heeft: aangezien ooit geen Hottentot, een byzonder persoon, en arm van vee, met een bezmeert manteltje gezien wort, maer draegt dat mager en onbezmeert, gelijk al de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die geheel en al geen vee hebben, en zeer arm zijn, schrale en onbesmeerde manteltjes aen hebben; uitgezondert hun overste, met name *Choro*, die, nevens zijnen broeder, met besmeerde vellen om 't lijf behangen gaet. Desgelijx gaen byna al d'oversten en koningen, 's konings dochters, als de koningh der *Kochoquas*, onder ander, zijn onder-koningh, en derde

*cf. Hondius (op. cit., 562): "zoo dat zij in alles zeer ongeregeld zijn en in alles beestachtigh, wild, Ruyg ende vuyl van leven."

sheepskin, almost in the same manner as the Friesland or Molquerer women wear a broad linen cap or clout, loosely tied with a wide band. In other details of clothing they cannot be distinguished from the men. Their shoes also are made in the same way and of the same material as those of the men.

ORNAMENTATION.

Just as their clothing is sordid and mean, so too their bodily adornment and decoration is slovenly in style rather than tidy. The men have their hair decorated with small copper plates, doits, small white horns and big coral beads. From some spots they shave it off altogether, leaving patches here and there, just like spaniels are shaven here at home. They pluck out all the hair from the chin, and paint or smear the face to make themselves black, which is held to be a great decoration amongst them. So, too, they smear their bodies and faces with grease and fat, so that altogether they are beastly, savage, coarse and dirty in habit, and consequently look as if they never wash. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore of the Cape, are accustomed to come to the ships of the Dutch, when they make at once for the cook's kettle, to smear and streak themselves with the grease and soot upon it. Even the chiefs deem it a decoration to be done up all over like this. Some have for decoration chipped their own skins with notches and cuts,⁶⁶) into which they put some fat or grease, with the result that they come to stink excessively, giving out such a fearfully strong odour that you are aware of their approach a hundred yards away.

Men and women with many cattle smear the outer sides of their cloaks and caps soft with fat. This is a sign of wealth; for no common Hottentot, poor in cattle, is ever seen with a greasy cloak, wearing his instead dry and unsmeared. Thus the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, none of whom have any cattle and who are consequently very poor, all wear dry, unsmeared cloaks; except for their chief Choro,⁶⁷) who, like his brother, has greasy skins

⁶⁶) Scarification seems to have been employed amongst the Cape Hottentots, and still is among the Naman, not for decoration but in connexion with many different ceremonies, such as the boys' puberty rites, hunting rites, remarriage, etc. The person officiating makes a number of small cuts on the body of the individual concerned, and the wounds are rubbed with ashes, producing slight permanent scars (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 72).

⁶⁷) *Sic.* Choro was the chief of the Gorachouquas, not of the Goringhaikonas.

perzoon in 't rijk, en zijne dochter *Namis*, met een zeer vet besmeert schapen-vel omhangen.

De beide ooren zijn hen verciert met grote bossen kralen, hun voornaemste gieraet en rijkdom, die zy van d'onzen tegen beeste handelen, daer onder zommige bossen, negen, tien, en elf strengen dik zijn, ieder streng wel een vierendeel ponts zwaer.

Vee-rijke Hottentots, inzonderheit, hebben den hals verciert met rode en gele kopere krale kettingen, die zy daer zelfs maken; en dragen om de armen een elpenbenen ringh, en voor na de hand ringen van koper, (want hun voornaemste gieraed en pronk is meê koper) of van een stoffe tusschen gout en zilver, die zoo dicht daer op sluiten, dat d'armen daer van smerten, en bywijlen zich tot zweren zetten; zonder evenwel die af te leggen. Zy dragen mede tot gieraet darmen van eenige beesten, met vet met al, versch en stinkend, twee of driemaal in elkandre gevlochten, zoo wel des daeghs als des nachts, wanneer zy slapen, om den hals; desgelijks hebben beide mannen en vrouwen, de benen vol gedrooghte darm-ringen hangen, eensdeels om voor het scherp steken der doornen bevrijd te zijn, anderdeels om, wanneer zy met danzen vreught bedrijven, wat geschals en geraes daer door te maken. De mans verbergen in de darmen, die zy om den hals hebben, tabak, pijpen en andere snuiseryen, in plaats van een zak.

Zommigen hebben om den hals ook eenige worteltjes hangen, die zy diep uit het lant, uit den gront der rivieren halen, en onder het reizen op eenige gevaerlijke plaetsen van leeuwen, luiperden, of wolven, by het vuur (ontsteken, ter plaetse, daer zy vernachten, tot af-keering van dit wilt gedierte) kauwen tot kleine stukjes en brokjes; welk kauwzel zy dan rontom uit den mont blazen en spuwen, met vast betrouwen, dat daer zulk een kracht by is, dat geen dier die reuk en smaek, (hoewel deze wortelen reuk en smakeloos zijn,) kan verdragen, nochte kracht hebben, om op hen aen te komen, zoo dat zy alle des nachts daer op gerustelijk gaen nederleggen.

In het uitgaen hebben zy gewoonlijk een vogel-struis-veer, of een stokje, met een wilde katten-stert, *zou* in hun tale genoemd, overtogen, in de een hant, om daer mede in plaats van een neusdoek het stof en zant, en de vliegen, daer het

hanging round his body. So, too, almost all the chiefs and kings, and the daughters of the kings, go about wearing very greasy sheepskins, like the King of the Kochoquas, among others, his subordinate king, the third lord of his kingdom, and his daughter Namis.

They adorn both ears with big bunches of coral beads, their principal ornament and wealth, which they barter from our countrymen with cattle. Some of these bunches contain nine, ten or eleven strings, each string weighing about a quarter of a pound. Wealthy Hottentots, in particular, adorn their necks with chains of red and yellow copper beads, which they make themselves. They also wear an ivory bracelet round the arm, and on the wrists hang rings of copper (their principal ornament and display) or of a metal between gold and silver.⁶⁸) They carry so many of these rings that their arms ache and at times begin to fester, but still they do not remove them. Another decoration worn round the neck, both by day and at night when they are asleep, is the guts of certain animals, with fat and all, fresh or stinking, twisted two or three times about each other. Both men and women also have their legs hung full of rings of dry gut, partly as protection against the sharp jabs of thorns, but partly also to produce a rattling sound when they amuse themselves by dancing. The men carry tobacco, pipes and other trinkets in the rings of gut round their necks, instead of in a bag.

Some also hang certain roots round the neck, which they fetch far inland from river soil. On a journey, when they camp at places dangerous because of lions, leopards or hyenas, they sit round the fire (kindled wherever they rest for the night, in order to keep off the wild beasts), and chew these roots to small pieces and fragments. These they then blow and spit out around them, firmly believing that no animal can withstand the smell and taste of the roots (which actually are odourless and tasteless), nor be able to come up to them, so that they can lie there peacefully all night through.⁶⁹)

When going about, they usually have in the one hand an ostrich feather, or a stick with the tail of a wild cat

⁶⁸) Hondius, from whom this sentence seems to have been lifted, merely says: Zy hebben ook Arm-ringen van een stoffe tussghen Goud en Koper gelykt ("they also have arm-rings of a material which looks like something between gold and copper"). In all probability the reference is to raw native copper.

⁶⁹) The use of amulets by the Hottentots was by no means uncommon, and protective rites such as that described by Dapper have persisted down to the present day (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 394).

lant wonder vol af is, uit neus en oogen te vegen en af te keren; en in d'andere hant een slechte asagaye.*

De vrouwen gaen noit uit, zonder een lere vierkante zak, daer onder aen elk einde een bosch quasten by neerhangt, op den ruch te hebben; altijs opgevult met d'eene of d'andere kleinigheden of snuizeryen; zomwijlen noch wel een kint daer by, tot grote belemmering van haren gang en wandel.

WAPENEN.

De wapenen dezer volken bestaen in pijl en boge, en schichten of slechte asagayen, welke zijn stokjes van drie, vier, en vijf voeten lang, op het een einde met een breed yzer beslagen, doch voor scherp, dat zy zelfs weten te smeden, en daer te maken. Tamelijk weten zy die te hanteren en daer mee te werpen; en hebben gewoonlijk in het uitgaen, in d'eene hant zulk een asagaye, en in d'andere een stokje met een katten steert overtogen, gelijk aenstonts gezeyt is. Schiet-geweer is tot noch toe by hen in geen gebruik.

SPIJZE.

Wat hun spijsze belanght; zy eeten weinigh groente, dan alleen zeker slag van ronde worteltjes, hun dagelix voetzel, van grote als aerd-ekelen, die de vrouwen dagelix uit de revieren, en andere plaetzen gaen graven, en dan gekookt of gebraden, na de lust strekt, op eeten. Zy slachten geen vee om t'eeten, of moet door krankheit, ouderdom, of verleemtheit onbequam zijn, om den trop te volgen; desgelijx geene schapen, uitgezondert, wanneer twee in den echten staet vereenigen. Zy weten hun voedzel, gelijk andere wilden, niet te bereiden, noch toe te maken, maer vallen op de gestorve beesten gelijk honden, en eten dezelve met het ingewant en darmen, de drek ten ruigsten daer uit geschut, of met de tanden uitgeduwt, raeuw op, en zelden gekookt.**

*Cf. Hondius, *op cit.*, 563: "Sommighe hebben in d'een hand een sgherp stokjen . . . zijnde een soorte van haar assagayen. In d'ander hand hebben zy een kleyn stokjen daer een vossen of katten-steert of diergelijcke overtogen is, ofte in plaats van dien hebben zy Pluymen van Struys-vogels, 't welk zij voor een neusdoek gebruyken om 't Sweet daar mede af te veegen, ofte om de vliegen daarmede af te keeren, daar het Land tot verwonderens toe vol af is."

**Another plagiarism from Hondius, who says: "Zy weten haar voedsel, gelijk veel andre wilden niet toe te maakken of te bereyden, maar vallen op de gestorven beesten gelijk de Honden, . . . Alle Gedierte eten zij met het Ingewand met al op, de darmen alleen wat uit-gesghut sonder wassen soo als het geslagt of gevonden is eeten sy al rauw met vellen met al op" (*op. cit.*, 561).



HOW THE HOTTENTOTS TREAT NEW-BORN BABES.
(Notice in the background the child exposed to death in the grass,
and another being buried alive in the side of a mound.)
[After Kolb.]

tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

The women never go out without having on the back a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais⁷⁰). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

FOOD.

As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food⁷¹), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

⁷⁰) Maingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, xxix, 712 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

⁷¹) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachranging Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 238).

Wanneer zy geen dode beesten vinden, zoeken zy de dode visch by strant, desgelijx klip-kousen en alikruiken en mosselen. Zy vinden ook grote smaek in 't vleesch van zeehonden of robben, die zy 's nachts (want dan komen deze beesten by duizenden aen strant, en blaten als kalven,) met stokken dootslaen, en raeu, of half gaer en ongewassen in 't vuur gebraden op eeten; gelijk zy mede niet vreemt van het spek van walvisschen en andere zee-gedrogten zijn, die zoo nu en dan komen te stranden. Het is gebeurt, dat zy de traen van een gestrande walvisch, aen de zoute reviere, door de zon daer uit gebraden, met hele handen vol daer uit schepten, en zoo in slorpten, en stukken daer uit sneden, en onder het zant begroeven, om naderhant te eeten. By wijlen rukken zy stukken van hun herde schapen of robbevelen mantels, met hun tanden, en eeten die, slechts een weinigh op kolen gebraden, op. De Strant-lopers, dat zijn de Hottentots, die dicht aen het strant, en de kaep van Goeder hope wonen, en aen de schepen der Neerlanders komen, vervoegen zich aenstonts by de koks-ketel, en nemen, zoo zy kunnen, het vet, dat boven op de vleesch-ketel drijft, met hele handen vol daer af, en slingeren dat zonder broot in 't lijf. Grote smaek hebben zy in ons broot, daer zy willig beesten aen verruilen. De *Saldanhars* of *Kochoquas*, en andere ontrent gelegen Hottentots, leven in den drogen zomer-tijt by hun vee, maer des winters by zekeren worteltjes, die in den regen tijt in d'aerde groeien. De honingh, die daer in de bosschen valt, eeten zy met wasch met al, gelijk op. Hunnen kranken geven zy gemeenlijk kools, witte kees, en mostaerts bladen, met een weinigh geklopt spek daer onder gekookt, t'eeten.

Hun drank is water, of melk van hun beesten; dan snakken en zijn zeer gretigh na brandewijn en Spaenschen wijn, desgelijx na tabak; doch worden van een weinigh zat en smoor dronken; als wanneer zy groot misbaer met schreeuwen en ratelen bedrijven.

HANTWERK.

Zy bemoeien zich byna met geen hantwerken en kunsten, dan met biezen te bereiden, daer van sy matten maken, om hun huizen te bedekken;* en met de veehoedery van koe-beesten en schapen. Zoo veel echter hebben zy den onzen afgekeken, dat zy het scherp van hun flitzen en asagayen van oudt yzer, dat zy hier en daer van d'onzen verworpen vinden, zelfs kunnen smeden; dan gebruiken daer toe niet, als een steen tot een ambeelt, en een hamer, en maken het yzer smidig met houts-kolen.

*Cf. Hondius (563): "Wat haar Hanteringe belanghd zoo is haar voornaamste Werk Biezen te bereyden, daar van zy matten maken om haar Huyzen te bedekken."

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later⁷²). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. Their sick people they usually feed on cabbage, mallow and mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become sated and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

INDUSTRY.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.⁷³) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

⁷²) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's *Dagverhaal*, March 1-6, 1654.

ERNERING.

De *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die dicht aen de kaep wonen, erneren zich met visch te vangen, (naerdien zy geen vee gelijk d'anderen hebben,) die zy uit armoede aen d'onzen voor broot en tabak verhandelen. Al de meeste anderen hebben geen kennis van visch te vangen, noch eenige vaertuigh om de zee te gebruiken; zulx al hun reizen, te lande, te voet geschiet, wanneer zy van plaets willen verwisselen, of hun mede-makkers bezoeken. In stede van peerden hebben zy grote ossen, daer op zy hunne omslagh en goederen van d'een plaets tot d'andere doen vervoeren, en leiden en bestieren dezelve door middel van een hout, door de neus gedaen, als met een toom.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars* erneren zich alle met de vee-hoedery, en hebben over de hondert duizent beesten, alle even schoon, en wel eens zoo veel schapen, niet met wol, maer met langachtigh gekleurt hair. De kleine en grote *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* erneren zich mede, gelijk hunne gebuur-volken, de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, met zeer schoon en meenighvuldigh vee, hun eenighste hope en vertrouwen; want deze volken hebben in den drogen zomer-tijt niet anders, dan van hun vee te leven; maer 's winters, gelijk gezelt is, in den regentijt, groeien daer zekre worteltjes in d'aerde, hun gewoonelijke spijsze. Geen onder al de Hottentots zaïen of planten, dan alleen de *Heusaquas*, die zich met het planten van den wortel *dacha* erneren.

Velen, inzonderheit de *Goringhaiquas*, of Kaep-mans, erneren zich met den jacht, die by hen in dezer wijze geschiet; wanneer zy by nacht eenigh wilt gedierte vernemen, 't zy olifanten, elanden, reinosters, leeuwen, tigers, bokken of peerden, dan springen alle weerbare mannen uit, en maken luitruchtigh een groot geschreeu en geluidt, waer door het dier uit vreze wijkt; maer zoo by daghe eenigh verscheurend wilt-gedierte verschijnt, dan springht al uit wat wapenen kan voeren, wel ten getale van twee of drie hondert, elk verzien met twee of drie asagaien, en vervoegen zich alle in 't ronde, om het gedierte, met schrikkelijk te roepen en schreeuwen, zoo lange tot dat het wilt zich uit de ruichte op de vlucht begeeft: als dan past ieder wat te raken, om niet gequetst of vernielt te worden, gelijk zulx bywijlen wel gebeurt, en het wilt te treffen. In

⁷³⁾ Wagenaar, in the memorandum left for the information of his successor, says in this connexion: "To sell them thin square bar iron, as the Cochoquas would have recently wished, is by no means advisable, as they know how to beat it into *pickysers*, or sharp points for their arrows and assegais, and to harden it very tolerably; so, that, should they come again to ask for this iron,

SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.⁷⁴)

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root *dacha*.

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must

you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Moodie, *Record*, 291.)

⁷⁴) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 297).

dezer wijze trekken de Kaep-mans, inzonderheit op den wilt-vangst der voornoemde dieren.

ECHT.

Wanneer een perzoon door liefde op d'eene of andere dochter ontsteken is, verzoekt hy aen zijnen vader, om dezelve te mogen trouwen, en gaet dan, na bekomen verlof, by den vader en de moeder van de dochter, met zeer ernstelijk verzoek van d'eere te mogen genieten, om met haere dochter in den huwelijken staet te treden. Zoo wanneer nu d'ouders in dien voorslag des minnaers bewilligen, bevint de dochter haer genootzaekt, 't zy met wil of onwil, hem in liefde aen te nemen, en geeft haer bruidegom in plaets van een goude ketting een vetten koedarm om den hals, dien hy zo lang moet dragen, tot dat dezelve door slijtinge komt af te vallen; 't welk so veel als de bevestinge der trou is.

Dan worden twe der vetste schapen uit de gehele negerye gezocht, en voor dit nieuw ge-echte paer geslacht, en eensdeels gezoden, anderdeels gebraden op-gedischt: daer ook niemant dan deze twee luiden en de ouders mogen van eten; gemerkt anders het huwelijk niet voor bondig en wettigh gehouden en aengenomen worden. De vellen, aen kleine stukken gesneden, en 't hair daer afgeschraept, worden op hete kolen gelegd, en dan, doch eerst op een steen geklopt, by hen met grote zmaek opgegeten. De bruilof duurt niet langer, dan dien eenen dagh, nocte geene andere plechtelikheden worden onder trouwen of bruiloft houden gebruikt.

Aengaende de tróuhertigheit en liefde tusschen getrouwde en ongetrouwde, die is, gelijk hier te lande, verscheide. Men vint 'er mannen, die naulix hun vrouwen een half jaer gehad hebben, of zien niet eens meer daer na om, en laten haer lopen voor 't geen dat zy zijn: zulx d'onderlinge genegentheit daer door t'eenemaal komt af te sterven. Anderen in tegendeel dragen zulx een grote liefde tot de vrouwen, als by eenigen Neerlander gevonden kan worden, van gelijken de vrouwen weer tot hare mannen. Tot bewijs van onderlinge trouwhertige minneliefde onder deze wilde menschen, dienen twee merkwaardige stukken, gebeurt aldaer voor eenige weinigh jaren; het een van een weduwe, die door droefheit en rouwe over de doodt van haren man, in een kuil vol hout, en in brant gestoken, sprong, en haer zelve verbrande; het ander van een jonge dochter, die haer uit mistroostigheit van eenen steenrots te bersten liet vallen, ter oorzake de ouders haren vryer, over het beslapen van deze dochter, in hun wederwil, strengelijk met doornen doen gezelen hadden.

try to hit it, lest he be wounded or destroyed, as does actually happen at times. That is how the Capemen set out especially to hunt the animals just mentioned.

MARRIAGE.

Whenever a man falls in love with some girl or other, he asks permission from his father to marry her. This granted, he goes to the girl's father and mother, with the earnest request that he may have the honour of marrying their daughter. Should the parents then favour his suit, the girl finds herself, willynilly, obliged to accept him in love. She puts the fatty gut of a cow round the neck of the bridegroom, instead of a golden chain, and this he must wear until it rots away of its own accord. This in effect is a confirmation of the marriage.

Two of the fattest sheep in the whole village are then sought out and slaughtered for this newly-married couple, and dished up partly boiled, partly roasted. No one but these two people and their parents may eat of this meat, lest the marriage be not considered or accepted as binding and lawful. The skins of the sheep, cut to small pieces and the hair all scraped off, are laid on hot coals, and then, after being pounded on a stone, are eaten with great relish. The wedding does not last longer than one day, nor are any other ceremonies celebrated in connexion with marriage⁷⁵).

The attachment and love between married, as between unmarried, people varies, just as it does with us. One finds men who have scarcely been married for half a year before they no longer care for their wives or even trouble about them, so that their mutual affection soon dies away. Others on the contrary have as great a love for their wives as can be found among any of the Dutch, and so too have the women for their husbands. As instances of true mutual love among these savages, we may mention two remarkable episodes which happened there a few years ago. In the one a widow, through sadness and grief at the loss of her husband, sprang into a pit full of wood which had been set alight, and burned herself to death. In the other, a young girl, rendered disconsolate because her parents had severely whipped her lover on finding that he had slept with her against their will, threw herself down from a rock and was smashed to pieces.

⁷⁵) Dapper's description of Hottentot marriage ceremonies, while confirmed in the main by the writings of other observers, is by no means complete. A far more detailed account is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 201).

Onder de getrouwen wort gantsch weinigh jaloersheit bespeurt, niet tegenstaende wel een paert by donker in een onrechte stal komt te raken. Dan grotelix wort d'overtreder, indien zulx in 't licht komt, uit bevel van den overste gestraft.

OVERLIJDEN.

De *Kaffers* of Hottentots zijn zeer lang-levend; want de meeste, zoo mans als vrouwen, bereiken den trap van tachtig, tnegentig, hondert, hondert tien, twintig, en meer jaren.

De gestorvene Hottentots worden al zittende, moeder-naekt en zonder eenigh gewaet aen, in een diepe put gezet, daer na aerde over 't hooft gestolpt, met een grote hope stenen daer boven op, om door het wilt gedierte niet uit het graf (want zy willen de lijken niet verslonden hebben) gehaelt te worden.

Wanneer een man of vrouw overleden, en het lijk ter aerde is besteeft, dan moeten al de vrienden, tot wel in den derden graet, schoon het maer een kint van een vierendeel jaers was, volgens een oud gebruik, de pink der linken hant af-kappen, om in 't graf by den doden gelegd te worden: dan zoo d'overleden by zijn leven veerijk zy geweest, en eenige vrienden nalaet, op wie dit vee zoude komen te versterven, het zy d'eene zuster van d'andere; de moeder van de groot-moeder; de dochter van de moeder (want dit maer alleenlijk aen het vrouw-volk gepleegt wort,) moeten dezelve van ieder pink een lit verliezen, eer zy het vee, zonder uitterste wille, mogen na zich nemen: want de kranke vermagh niet het minste op zijn doodt-bedde wegh te schenken, als aen den genen, die het erfelijk toekomt.

Dan niet geerne zien zy, dat iemant komt te sterven, en doen, zoo dra iemant in eene krankheit stort, eenen heel-meester halen, die, geheel en al geen gereetschap, nochte de minste zalve by zich heeft, als een scherp aen wederzijde snijdend mesje, met een lang yzertje, voor met een kopje. Dees dan komt den kranke bezoeken, en met het mesje in den ruch ader-laten; en doet op d'armen, met

76) The apparent longevity of the Bushmen and Hottentots is still a matter of popular comment in newspapers, but while it is true that individuals may occasionally reach a ripe old age, there is actually no reason to believe that longevity is a general characteristic of the people. It should also be noted that among them the skin, owing to paucity of adipose tissue, readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people, so that individuals may often look much older than they really are. Cf. Ten Rhyne's remarks on the same topic, p. 123, below.

Very little jealousy is found amongst the married people, even although a man sometimes takes himself to the wrong bed at night. The transgressor, if this comes to light, is then punished severely at the command of the chief.

DEATH.

The Kaffirs or Hottentots are very longlived, for most of them, both men and women, reach the ages of eighty, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and ten, one hundred and twenty years and even more⁷⁶).

Dead Hottentots are placed in a sitting position and stark naked⁷⁷) into a deep pit, which is then filled in with earth. On top of this is piled a great heap of stones, so that the corpse may not be dug out of the grave by wild beasts and devoured.

When someone has died, even if it was only a child three months old, and the corpse has been interred, all the relations up to the third degree must, according to old usage, have the little finger of the left hand chopped off to be laid in the grave with the dead person⁷⁸). If the deceased had during her lifetime possessed many cattle which she bequeathed to some relative such as a sister or daughter, the latter (for this applies only to women) must remove a joint from the little finger of each hand before she may take over the cattle in the absence of a last testament; for a sick person may not give away the slightest thing on his deathbed except to those who would lawfully inherit it.

They are loath to see anybody die, and whenever someone falls ill they accordingly fetch a healer. The latter, apart from a sharp double-bladed little knife and a long bit of iron with a small knob at the end, has absolutely no equipment, not even the least bit of ointment. He comes to the patient, whom he bleeds in the back with his knife; he then applies the glowing bit of iron to the patient's

⁷⁷) This statement is contradicted by most other writers on the burial customs of the Hottentots. As a rule the dead person was wrapped and tied up in the kaross he wore during life, and then buried (Schapera, *op cit.*, 360 ff.)

⁷⁸) The practice of finger mutilation by the Hottentots is confirmed by many later writers, but not in all the details mentioned by Dapper. It appears from the available information to have been observed (a) by women who had lost their husbands, and were wishing to remarry, (b) on children whose immediate predecessors had died young, and whose mothers then performed the operation on them as a protective rite against a similar fate (Schapera, *op cit.*, 72).

het gloeyend yzertje gebrant, eenigh kruit, daer te lande wassende, met versch gekookte zoete melk druipen. Deze meesters zijn kennelijk aen hunne veelvoudige worteltjes, leurtjes, en veel andere snuizeryen en kleinigheden, die zy om den hals hebben hangen, van gelijken ook de meestressen.

STRAFFEN DER MISDADEN VAN DIEFSTALLEN.

De genen, die zich over eenige diefstallen misgrijpen, en elkandre eenige beuzelingen, leuren of snuizeryen ontnemen, worden, daer op betrapt, door hunne koning of *choeque* zelve, met een stok geslagen, zonder eenige zwaerder straffe den zelve aen te doen. Dan die elkandren grof en groot bestelen, te weten des nachts in den slaep elkandren den rijkdom (die by hen in kralen bestaat) van den hals en uit d'ooren nemen, worden, zoo by hun de dieverye en d'aenrechter in 't licht koomt, zwaerder straffe aangedaen; desgelijx lijden de genen, die den eenen of den anderen zijne beesten of schapen af-stelen, en die weder aen anderen verhandelen, dezelve straffe, als over den diefstal der kralen, in volgender wijze. De misdadige wort eerstelijk eenen dagh, handen en voeten vast gebonden, zonder eten of drinken gelaten: dan gaen des anderen daegs eenigen der outsten aen de *choeque*, om te vragen, of met het recht ('t welk geschiet zonder eenig verdoeming of verwijzinge, hoewel niet zonder bewijs, doch zonder een letter op 't papier te stellen) zal voort gevaren worden: waer op de koning met een groot gevolg van volken, die hem als lijfswachten, doch zonder wapenen, verselschappen, ontrent eenen boom verschijnt, daer hy dan gebiet den misdadigen voor hem te brengen. Dees wort dan aen den boom gebonden, en wel strengelijk gezeselt over 't gantsche lijf, te weten, van achteren, dat hem 't bloet by zijn lijf tappelings op de voeten komt te lopen. Aenstonts na dus gezeselt te zijn, wort hy anders om, met het gezicht na den koning wel vast gebonden, en zeker slagh van ziedende hete gom of hers, in een pot gesmolten, over zijn blote lijf van den hals over het herte gegoten, dat hem het vel zoo datelijk van 't naekte lichaem gaet, en met lappen daer by hanght. Na dit gedaen is, wort hy weder los gemaakt, en wat etens gegeven, en dan weder handen en voeten gebonden, en drie dagen zonder eeten gelaten, en eindelijk, na het uitstaen van al deze smerten, zomtijts noch wel gebannen, en uit de negerye verstoten, zulx hy als een slaef van eenen ander moet leven.

Wanneer iemand in overspel wort bevonden, dan worden zy beide (als elkandre niet in bloede bestaat) gezeselt, en zoo voorts met een straffe afgeleght: maer bevinden

arms, afterwards dripping on to them a certain local herb mixed with freshly-cooked sweet milk. These healers, male or female, can be recognized by the numerous roots, trinkets and other odds and ends which they have about their necks⁷⁹).

PUNISHMENTS OF THEFT.

Hottentots who go wrong by stealing trinkets or trifles from their fellows are, if caught, beaten with a stick by their king or *choeque* himself, and not punished more severely. But if they steal on a larger scale, for instance by removing at night the valuable coral beads from the necks and ears of their sleeping companions, they are, when the theft is discovered and brought home to them, made to suffer a much heavier penalty. So, too, those who steal cattle or sheep from one and trade them to another receive the same punishment as is meted out for the theft of beads. The culprit, bound hand and foot, is first left a whole day without food or drink. The following day some of the elders go to the *choeque* and ask if the law should be carried out (which is done without any condemnation or sentence, but not without proof, although nothing is recorded on paper). Thereupon the king, with a large following of men who though not armed accompany him as bodyguards, appears close to a tree, where he orders the culprit to be brought before him. The latter is then tied to the tree, and thrashed pretty severely all over the back, so that the blood streams down his body on to the ground. Immediately afterwards he is fastened the other way about, facing the king, and a certain kind of hot gum or resin, melted in a pot, is poured over his naked body from the throat down to the heart, so that his skin at once falls away and hangs down in strips. Then he is again released and given some food. His hands and legs are now again bound together, and he is left for three days without any food at all. Finally, after enduring all these sufferings, he is sometimes banished as well and expelled from the village, so that he must live like a slave to someone else.

When people are caught in illicit intercourse, they are both whipped (if not related by blood), and let off with this punishment. But if the parents of two such lovers find that they are of similar status in rank and wealth, then they are permitted to marry each other. In case this does not take place, they wait to see if the girl becomes pregnant.

⁷⁹) For a fuller account of Hottentot medical practices, see Ten Rhyné and Grevenbroek, pp. 149, 241 below.

d'ouders van zulke twee verliefde minnaers, dat ze elkandre van staet en rijkdom wel gelijken, dan wort toegestaen, hen beide met den bant des huwelix te binden; ingevallen zulx niet geschiet, wort zoo langh gewacht, of de dochter ook mochte bevrucht zijn; want zoo de dochter zwanger is moet het huwelijk, schoon de vryer noch zulk een slecht perzoon was, evenwel zijnen voortgang hebben, tot herstelling van d'eere des dochters; naerdien het daer een groot afzien geeft, een onecht kint te hebben, hoewel zulx zomtijts noch wel gebeurt.

BLOETSCHANDE.

Wanneer een perzoon, hoe rijk of arm hy zy, komt bloetschande te begaen, 't zy een zoon met zijn moeder, of broeder met de zuster, of vader by de dochters, of anderzints elkandre in bloede bestaende, wort zulx heel buiten gewoon zwaer by hen opgenomen, en rekenschap gemaakt, dat zulke twee luiden niet te zwaer kunnen gestraft worden, aengezien het, na hun zeggen, een onvergeefelijke zake is, hoewel zy niet weten, dat daer eenige zonde begaen is, of Godt (dien zy niet kennen) vertoornt is; maer hebben alleenlijk d'ingeboorne kennis, dat zulx een grote mislagh en qualik gedaen is. d'Overtredders dan worden met de volgende straffe ter doot gebraght.

Eerstelijk wort de man, de handen en voeten alle vier met een strik aen elkandre getrokken, in eenen kuil gewentelt, tot 's anderen daeghs, en de vrouw daer by gezet. Dan wort de man 's anderen daegs daer uit gehaelt, en, noch even vast geknevelt, onder eenen boom gezet, en aen den hals by eenen sterken tak, dien eenigen naer beneden halen, en neer houden, vast gemaakt, en als dan weer geslaekt, en lit voor lit afgesneden, tot dat het lichaem, na het uitstaen van zoo veel martelens, gantsch doot is en geen mensch meer gelijkt. Daer na latenze den voorzeiden tak weer om hoogh springen, met het geknotte lichaem daer aen, dat ten spiegel en kenteken van andere quaetdoenders dus blijft hangen.

Na de man in dezer wijze ter doot gebraght is, wort de vrouwe ook daer uit gehaelt, en in een ronte van meenighten droge kreupel-bosschen, wel bewerkt, de handen en voeten mede vast by elkandre gebonden, te midden in gezet, en tot assche verbrant. Weshalve kan hier aen bespeurt worden, dat deze blinden heidenen noch weten, dat zulke lijfstrafbare zaken ten hoogsten strafbaer zijn, niet tegenstaende by hen geen onderdanigheid kan bespeurt worden, als aen eenen 's *Humma*, gelijk hier na gezeit zal worden.

Once she is pregnant, the marriage must be hastened on, no matter how bad a person the lover is, in order to restore the honour of the girl; for it is a great scandal there to have an illegitimate child, although sometimes it does actually occur.

INCEST.

Should anybody, however rich or poor he may be, commit incest, be it a son with his mother, a brother with his sister, a father with his daughter, or any other pair of relatives, they regard this as extremely serious indeed, and hold that these two people cannot be punished too severely. According to them it is an unforgivable offence, although they are not aware that any sin has been committed, or that God (whom they do not know) has been angered; only they have the inborn knowledge that a great wrong and evil has here been done. The offenders are killed in the following manner:—

The man, his hands and feet all drawn together and knotted fast, is first plunged into a pit, and the woman also put there. On the following day he is taken out, still fastened up, and put under a tree. He is tied by the neck to a strong branch, which some men pull and hold down. His bonds are then slackened, and his limbs cut off one by one; until the body, after enduring so many tortures, is completely dead and no longer looks human. Then they let the branch fly up again into the air with the truncated body attached to it, to remain hanging there as a sign and warning to other evildoers.

After the man has been done to death in this way, the woman is also taken out of the pit, her hands and feet tied fast to one another. She is placed inside a well-arranged circle of many dry bushes, and there burned to ashes. From this can be deduced that these blind heathen yet know that such mortal offences must be punished to the utmost, even although no veneration can be observed amongst them save to a certain 's *Humma*, as will be related below.

Ontrent over vijf jaren is 't gebeurt, dat zeker perzoon, een grote vriend en na-maeghschap van den *Koehque* of Koning van de *Saldanhars*, in bloetschande was vervallen, doch deed evenwel, zonder aenschou op zijnen perzoon, recht over den zelven, maer raekte nogtans door grote voor-spraak met een roede geeseling, en ontnemen van al zijne beesten, en ballingschap vry, en begaf zich by de *Goringhaikonas*, by het Fort van goeder hope, verlaten van al zijne vrienden, met belofte echter, dan zoo hy zich als te voore weder wilde dragen, al dan weder in genade zoude aengenomen worden. Een teken van noch eenige tucht onder deze wilden.

STRAFFE DER DOOTSLAGEN EN QUETSURE.

Wanneer iemant den eenen of den anderen, door gramschap of toornigheid, komt doot te slaen of te steken, zulx wort by hen mede voor een gewichtige zake opgenomen, inzonderheit indien een perzoon van aenziene, redelijk van wijsheit, staet en rijkdom, zulx gepleeght heeft; overmits zy zeggen, zulc een perzoon, met meer verstant als een ander, beter behoorde te weten, en eenen anderen met goede exempelen, (aengezien hy mede een vonnis-wijzer is) wijze-lijk voor te gaen. Weshalve wort zulc eenen de hals aen eenen boom toegeworght, en doot in het zelfste graf by den doden gelegd; daer in tegendeel andere onnozele byzon-dere luiden 't zelven door vee, en geringer straffe beter kunnen afmaken, dan een grote wijze (of, zoo gemeent wort) raetgever. Zommigen misdadigen, die de doot verdient hebben, worden de knien doornagelt en met een yzere penne aen de schouderen vast gehecht, en dus met een langzame doot gestraft.

HUIZEN.

Wat hunne huizingen belangt, zy leven als d'Arabers op 't velt, in hutten, gemaekt van enkele krom gebogen stokken, in 't ront gezet, en met bies-matten, die zy zelfs zeer net en aerdigh weten te vlechten, overdekt; de zommigen zijn wel zoo groot, dat bequamenlijk tien of twintigh man, met vrou en kinderen, daer in hun verblijf kunnen houden;

⁸⁰) Dapper's account of Hottentot legal procedure and methods of punishment is much fuller than that of most other observers, so that its accuracy cannot be easily estimated. From such other information as is available, however, it seems that offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery and sodomy were all regarded as crimes punishable by death, and were tried by the chief and his council. The court sat in a circle, with the accused in the centre, where he could hear all that

It happened about five years ago that a certain man, a great friend and kinsman of the *koehque* or King of the Saldanhars, sank so low as to commit incest. But justice was done upon him as well, without regard for his person. He managed nevertheless by pleading hard to get off with a whipping, the confiscation of all his cattle, and exile; and betook himself to the Goringhaikonas at the Fort, deserted by all his friends, but with the promise that if he should conduct himself as before then he would again be taken into favour. This shows again that even to these savages discipline is not unknown.

PUNISHMENT OF HOMICIDE AND ASSAULT.

They also regard it as a serious offence when anybody, through anger or passion, beats or stabs someone else to death, especially when it has been done by a man of reputed wisdom and important status and wealth. They say that such a man, gifted with more understanding than others, ought to know better, and should set them a good example, considering that he is also a judge. He is in consequence strangled on a tree, and then laid dead in the grave. The less sophisticated common people, on the other hand, can get off more lightly for the same offence by paying cattle, and so have a lighter punishment than important and reputedly wise councillors. Some illdoers who have merited death have their knees pierced through and attached by an iron peg to the shoulders, and thus are punished by a lingering end.⁸⁰⁾

DWELLINGS.

As regards their dwellings, they live, like the Arabs of the desert, in huts, made of some sticks bent over crooked and ranged in a circle, and covered over with reed mats, which they can weave very nicely. Some of these huts

was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser stated his case, producing all his proofs and witnesses. The accused in return put forward whatever defence he could, and the matter was then thoroughly discussed by the councillors, the verdict being arrived at by the decision of the majority. If the accused was acquitted, a few head of cattle from the herds of his accusers were adjudged to him as compensation. But if he was found guilty, and the chief, in whose hands the final sentence lay, pronounced in favour of death, the sentence was immediately executed. The chief, as principal executioner, rushed upon the criminal and felled him to the ground with a heavy blow of the kirri; all the other men present then followed up the attack, until the man was beaten to death. There is no mention of the more elaborate methods of killing referred to by Dapper. (Scha-pera, *op cit.*, 399 ff.)

hoewel ook veel kleinder, door den bank, en eenigen zoo klein, dat zy die zelfs kunnen opnemen, en daer mede weglopen.* Het vuur of de haert-stede leit in 't midden van 't huis, doch maken geen schoorsteen, daer de rook optrekt, 't welk de huizen altijts vol rook maekt.

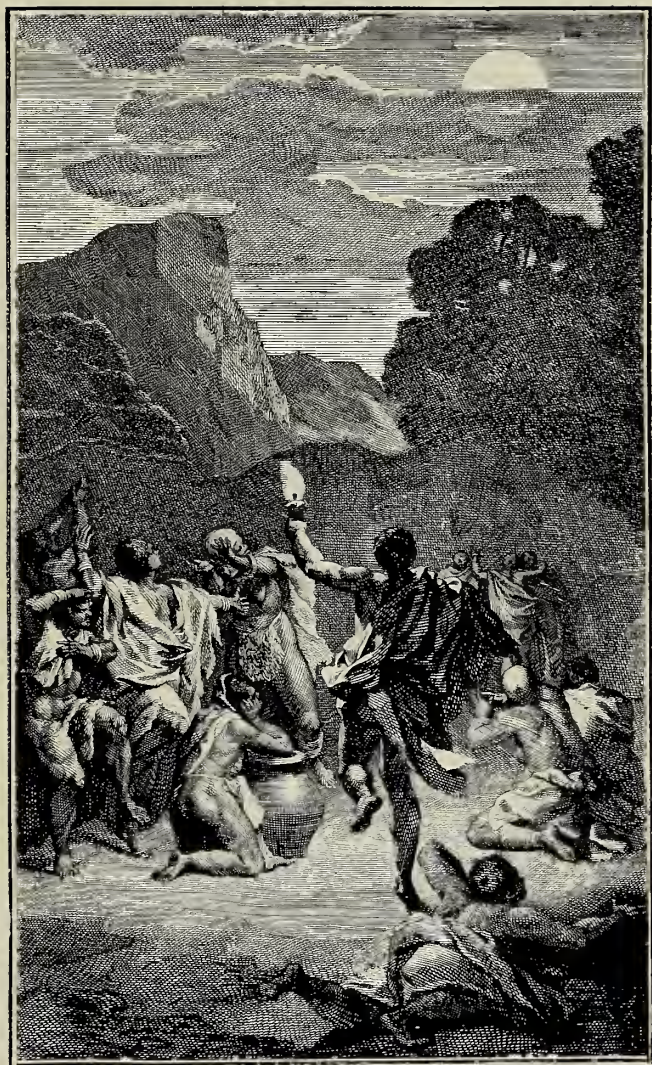
Vuur weten zy met zonderlinge behendigheid te maken, namelijk een houtje, daer een klein holletje in is, onder de voet te leggen, en dan met een ander houtje in dat holletje zoo stijf en langduurigh te draien, tot dat het vonkt.

TALE.

Al deze Hottentots, inzonderheit d'aen strant-gelegen, spreken een en dezelve tale of sprake, die t'eenemael belemmert, en by d'onzen om de moeielijkheit der uitsprake niet te leren is, tot merkelyk nadeel van het verder opspeuren der gelegenheit des lants, en handeling met deze volken. Hun sprake gaet geduurigh met klokken, als de kalkoensche hanen, klappende, of klatzende over het ander woort op hun mont, gelijk of men op zijne duim knipte, zoo dat hun mont byna gaet als een ratel, staende en klatsende met de tonge overluit; zijnde elk woort een byzondere klats.

Zommige woorden weten zy niet dan met heel zwaere moeite te uiten, en schijnen die als van achteren uit de kele op te halen, gelijk een kalkoensche haen, of als de luiden in Duitslant aen d'Alpes doen, die door het drinken van sneeuwater krop-zwellen aen den hals krijgen: waer over d'onzen hen ten opmerke van deze belemmering, en ongehoorde hakkeling van tale den naem van *Hottentots* gegeven hebben, gelijk dat woort in dien zin gemeenlijk schimpswijze, tegen iemant, die in het uiten zijner woorden hakkelt en stamelt, hier te lande gebruikt wort. Zy noemen nu ook zich zelfs met den naem van *Hottentot*, en zingen by d'onzen al dansende, *Hottentot brokwa*, *Hottentot brokwa*: waer mede zy willen zeggen, geef Hottentot een brok broot. Wijders, *kahou*, is in hunne tale te zeggen, zit

*Cf. Hondius (*op cit.*, 563): "Ende wat haar Huysinge aan gaat, zy leven als de Arabiers in 't veld, in Hutten dewelke staan twintigh of meer in 't ronde, als kleine verkens kotten; zijnde van gedaante als een Bakkers oven boven rond, en met matten van Biezen bedekt, ende zij zijn zoo groot dat zij de zelve kunnen op nemen en daar mede wegh kunnen loopen."



HOW THE HOTTENTOTS HONOUR THE MOON.

[*After Kolb.*]

are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck. Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.⁸¹⁾ They now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa*, *Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

⁸¹⁾ Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kxoikxoin* ("*Khoi-Khoi*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

neder, *bou* een os, *ba* een schaep, een *kori* yzer.* Alle of de meeste *Hottentots*, te weten, die dicht aen het Fort van goeder hope wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, en *Goringhaikonas*, spreken door het daghelix verkeren met d'onzen de Duitsche tale, gelijk eenigen, die by d'Engelschen in *Bantam* zijn geweest, wat gebroken Engelsch stamelen.

HANDEL

Tot eenige handelinge hebben zy geen grote genegentheit, nochte houden geen gemeenschap met eenige vreemde volken. Linnen, wollen, spiegels en bellen wierden voorhene by hen niet geacht, maer wel yzer, en by die aen de tafelbay liever koper, hun voornaemste cieraet**. d'Onzen, op de schip-vaert na Indien, onder het opper gezagh van Jan Jansz. Molenaar, des jaers vijftien hondert vijf-en-negentigh, verruilden aen deze volken voor een quaet houmes, een schonen os; voor een staef yzers van zeventigh pont, in vijven gebroken, twee ossen en drie schapen; voor een krom mes, een bijl, een schop, een korte yzere bout, en zommige stukjes yzer, drie ossen, vijf schapen, een voor een mes een schaep. Dan houden heden, als wijzer geworden, door het verkeren met d'onzen, ten andere door den overvloed dier dingen derwaert gevoert, hun vee op veel hoger prijs; zulx by hen niet meer die voorige eenvoudigheid te vinden is.

De liefste en begeerste waren, daer tegen zy hun vee heden 's daeghs willen verruilen, is tabak, brandewijn, krael-werk en koper; dat zy zeer gerne hebben, doch hoe geelder hoe liever. Voor vier stukjes koper, ieder zoo groot als de palm van een hant, ruilt men noch twee koe-beesten, doch moet ten huidigen daghe, tot een toegift, gemeenlijk een stukje tabak daer by gedaen worden.

*This famous passage is for the most part a direct copy from Hondius, whose actual words are: "Alle deze volkeren is haar spraake zeer belemmerd, klokkende als kalkoensche Hanen, ofte als de lieden in Duydsland bij de Alpes doen, die door de Hardigheyd van het Sneeu water dat zij drinken de kroppen krijgen, het welke geheel vreemd is, klappende over d'ander woord op haar mond gelijk oft men op syn duym knipte, soo dat haar mond gaat als een ratel, slaande met haar Tonge overluyd. Waar over men haar ter opmerkinge van haar Taal den naam van Hottentot geeft. Zy noemen nu ook haar selven Hottentot, singen ook al danssende, Hottentot Brokwa, Hottentot Brokwa, &c. Waar mede zy willen zeggen, Geeft Hottentot een brok broot: en voorders is bij haar te zeggen kahow kahow zit neder, Bou een os, Ba een Sghaap, ende Cori Yzer, &c." (op. cit., 561.)

**Cf. Hondius: "Linnen, wollen, Spiegels en Bellen wierden by haar niet geaght, maar 't Yser wel, en by die aan de Tafel-bay liever het Koper, dogh voornamelijk de Tabak, ende Brandewijn de liefste dingen van allen" (p. 561).

"give Hottentot a crust of bread". In their language, also, *kahou* means "sit down"; *bou*, an ox; *ba*, a sheep; and *kori*, iron. All or most of the Hottentots living close to the Fort, like the Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas, now also speak Dutch, owing to their daily intercourse with our countrymen, just as some who have been with the English in Bantam can stammer out some broken English.

TRADE.

They have no great inclination towards trade, nor do they have any traffic with other foreign peoples. Linen, wool, mirrors and bells were formerly not valued by them, but iron was, while those at Table Bay preferred copper, their principal ornament. Our countrymen who journeyed to India in 1595 under the leadership of Jan Jansz. Molenaer bartered from these people a fine ox for a bad bill-hook; two oxen and three sheep for an iron staff weighing 70 lbs., broken into five pieces; three oxen and five sheep for a crooked knife, an axe, a shovel, a short iron bolt, and some pieces of iron; and one sheep for a knife⁸²⁾. But today, grown wiser through intercourse with us, and led to this also by the abundance of such articles, they value their livestock far more highly; so that the old simplicity is no longer found amongst them. The favourite and most desired articles for which they are now willing to exchange their cattle are tobacco, brandy, beadwork and copper. The latter they particularly want, and the more yellow it is the more desirable. One can still obtain two cows for four pieces of copper, each as big as the palm of the hand; but nowadays there must also be added a little gift, generally a piece of tobacco.

The principal wealth of the Kafirs or Hottentots lies in their cattle, and in the beadwork which they barter from our people with cattle. The Kochoquas or Saldanhars are said to have more than a thousand head of cattle and as many sheep again^{82a)}, all with coloured hair instead of wool.

⁸²⁾ See *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597. I. D'eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewycksz*, p. 8. (Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging, VII. 's Gravenhage, 1915.) Dapper's list of articles is copied verbatim from this source.

^{82a)} *Sic*. Elsewhere Dapper gives the figures as 100,000 cattle and 200,000 sheep (see above, p. 23).

De meeste rijkdom der *Kaffers* of *Hottentots* bestaat in hun vee en kraelwerk, dat zy van d'onzen tegen beesten handelen. De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars* worden gezeit over de duizent stuk vees te hebben en wel eens zoo veel schapen, alle met gekleurt hair in plaets van wol.

BESTIERINGH.

De *Kaffers* of *Hottentots* worden bestiert zommigen door koningen, als de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*; anderen door oversten, als de *Gorachouquas* of Tabaks-dieven, *Goring-haikonas* of Watermans, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. d'Andere *Hottentots*, dieper te landewaerts in gelegen, worden mede bestiert of door eenen overste, als de *Chainouquas*, of leven zonder opperhoofd in 't wilt, als de *Sonquas*; of staen onder een koning, als de *Namaquas* en *Heusaquas*.

GODSDIENST.

By al de *Kaffers* of *Hottentots* of strantlopers, heeft noit iemand, hoe nau ook onderzocht, een teken van eenigen godsdienst kunnen bespeuren: nochte dat zy Godt of den duivel eenige eere bewijzen; niet tegenstaende zy wel weten, dat 'er een is, die zy 's *Humma* noemen, die de regen op d'aerde doet neerkomen, de winden waien, en hitte en koude geeft, zonder evenwel hem aen te bidden: want waerom, zéggen zy, zouden zy dezen 's *Humma* aanbidden, die den eenen tijt dubbele drooghte, en den anderen tijt dubbel water geeft, naerdien zy het liever matigh en van pas zagen: dat het gras, zeggen zy, behoorlijk kon groeien, en hunne beesten en schapen rijkelijk en weligh ter weide gaen. Ten anderen beelden zy zich zelfs in, de regen te kunnen doen ophouden, en de wint van gelijken; 't welk zy in dezer wijze trachten uit te voeren. Eerstelijk, om regen te doen ophouden, leggen zy een klein kooltje vuur op een spaentje in een klein kuiltje, in d'aerde gegraven, en op dat kooltje een klein vlokje hairs uit het hoofd getrokken, en dekken de kuil, als 't begint te stinken, met zant weder toe: waer over zy dan hun water maken, en lopen met groot geschreeu alle wegh. Om de wint te doen neerleggen en stillen, houden zy een der besmeerste vellen op een lange stok om hoogh in de wint,

GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king⁸³).

RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them 's *Humma*⁸⁴), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him; for why, say they, should they pray to this 's *Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner^{84a}). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

⁸³) On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. vi.

⁸⁴) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama */homi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits 's *Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

^{84a}) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Naman until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

tot dat de wint het vel van boven neder heeft gewait; en als dan menen zy ydelijk dat de kracht van de wint op dat vel is gestuit.

Het schijnt evenwel dat zy eenigh waengeloof aen d'opkomende nieuwe mane zouden hebben: want wanneer die begint gezien te worden, zullen zy gemeenlijk met hele troepen t'haerwaerts keren, en den gehelen nacht met groot gejuich, zoo met dansen, springen, zingen en kloppen in de handen, als prevelen binnen 's monts, overbrengen.

Zy hebben dan ook een pot, met een velleken stijf overtrokken, van fatsoen gelijk hier te lande de vastel-avond rommelpotten, daer geduurig met de eene hant op geslagen wort. Daer is by hen noch een ander speeltuig in gebruik, met een snaer, op de wijze van een boog, met een gespleten penneschaft aen het een einde, daer zy dan mede op blazen, en klank geeft zonder strijkstok, doch geen hart geluit, niet tegenstaende zy sterk genoeg met hunnen adem uitblazen en weder van gelijken ophalen: desgelijx ziet man by wijle vrouwen en kinderen voor opgerechte stenen knielende neerbuigen. Dan hebbende gene kerken, nochte houden de minste vergaderingen.

⁸⁵⁾ This custom is discussed more fully below, p. 138.

⁸⁶⁾ The musical bow to which Dapper refers is the famous *!goura*, an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies* v, 89-109, illus. The "rommelpot" is the instrument known to the modern Korana.

high in the breeze, until the skin is blown down from above; and then they foolishly believe that the force of the wind has been checked on this skin.

They also appear to have some superstition about the new moon; for when this is first seen, they all turn towards it in groups, and make merry the whole night, dancing, jumping, singing and clapping their hands, and also murmuring in their mouths⁸⁵).

They also have a pot tightly covered with a small bit of skin, and similar in appearance to the *rommelpot* used here at home on Shrove Tuesday, on which they beat continuously with one hand. They also use another musical instrument with a string, after the manner of a bow, attached to a split peg at one end, on which they blow. It produces a sound without a fiddlestick, but not a loud one, although they puff out their breath and inhale again with some force⁸⁶). So, too, one also at times sees women and children kneeling before erected stones, to which they bow⁸⁷). They have no churches, nor any sort of congregation.

as /*khais*, a drum used as a rhythmic accompaniment to the songs sung during certain dances. It is fully described by Kirby, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 183-185.

⁸⁷) This statement is probably derived from an observation made by Corporal Muller in 1655 when going on an expedition to False Bay. His party came to a certain great stone alongside the road, when the Hottentot women with them each gathered a green twig in her hand and all went to lie down on the stone, at the same time uttering some words which the Europeans could not understand. "Being asked what it meant, they said 'hette hie,' pointing upwards as if they intended to say it is a sacrifice." (D. Oct. 5, 1655.)

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

V. Cl.
WILHELMI TEN RHYNE
Daventr.

Ampliss. Soc. Indiae Or. Medici, & a consiliis Justitiae

Schediasma
de Promontorio Bonae Spei;

ejusve tractus incolis

HOTTENTOTTIS.

accurante, brevesque notas addente

HENR. SCRETA S. a ZAVORZIZ.

SCAFUSII.
Impensis Joh. Mart. Meisteri.
Typis Joh. Mart. Osvaldi.
MDCLXXXVI.

A Short Account of the Cape of Good Hope

AND OF THE HOTTENTOTS
WHO INHABIT THAT REGION

By the renowned
WILLIAM TEN RHYNE
of Deventer,

Physician of the most noble East India Company and member
of the Council of Justice.

Corrected and briefly annotated by
HENRY SCRETA S. a ZAVORZIZ.

SCHAFFHAUSEN.

At the expense of John Martin Meister.

Printed by John Martin Oswald.

1686.

(Translated by B. Farrington.)

FOREWORD.

Ten Rhyne's account of the Hottentots, unlike that of Dapper, is the product of personal acquaintance with the people. Although typical in some respects of the many descriptions compiled by transitory visitors to the Cape, it is well above the average in regard to the value and amount of information it contains. He nowhere states explicitly how long he was at the Cape, but it appears from the official records that the ship on which he must have arrived, the *Ternaten*, reached Table Bay on October 15, 1673, from Amsterdam, and departed for the East on November 10, after a stay of nearly four weeks. During this time he seems to have inquired fairly industriously into the natural resources of the country and the manners of its native inhabitants; and although his primary interest was obviously botanical, he also managed to learn a good deal about the Hottentots. It is evident from what he himself says that his information regarding the latter was obtained from all the available sources, his own observations, discussions with local European residents, and conversations with such Hottentots as could understand Dutch, of whom he names especially the famous Eva.

When stripped of its verbiage and classical allusions, his account of the Hottentots can by no means be regarded as detailed. Nevertheless his remarks on their mode of life, warfare, cattle trade and medical practices are particularly valuable additions to the scanty information previously published on these topics, and he also has some useful observations on their physical peculiarities and bodily mutilations. His list of tribes, too, is of considerable importance. It shows how within twenty years from the foundation of the settlement the groups in its immediate vicinity had degenerated into mere hangers-on and followers of the Dutch, how tribal distinctions were being lost and individual leaders coming into prominence, and how only the more remote tribes still retained their original character. It is significant too that he gives pride of place to the Hesequa, then valued as the principal market from which cattle could still be bartered in large quantities. On the other hand he says little that is new about Hottentot clothing, dwellings, food and social customs generally; his comments on their religion and system of government are distinctly weak; and occasionally he indulges in some rather fantastic statements suggesting a lack of critical ability or at least a naive credulity.

Of the man himself but little appears to be known.* He was born in Deventer about 1640, and studied at Leyden under the celebrated Dubois de la Boë. After practising in Holland for a while, he was appointed physician to the Dutch East India Company's settlement in Java; and it was on his way there in 1673 that he passed through the Cape. In Java he worked hard at his professional duties, also making a voyage to Japan, where he successfully treated the emperor for a grave illness. But he devoted himself especially to studies in natural history, above all botany, collecting numerous specimens of the exotic Eastern plants which he sent back to Holland. Of his later career hardly anything can be ascertained, not even the date of his death, but it appears from the title page of his book on the Hottentots that he was a member of the East India Company's Council of Justice. The British Museum Catalogue lists six works from his pen, all, save that on the Hottentots, dealing with medical and botanical subjects. A description of the plant collections he made at Saldanha Bay and the Cape in 1673, together with some other botanical observations of his, can be found in *Plantarum Exoticarum Centuria Prima*, published by the botanist Breyn in Danzig, 1678.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The Latin text of the present edition is reprinted exactly from a copy of the small octavo volume printed at Schaffhausen in 1686 and now in possession of the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

This 1686 edition was made from a MS roll and was provided with corrections and annotations by the editor. It is not easy to say what the annotations provided by the editor were, as most of the footnotes seem to belong to Ten Rhyné himself; and the text is still in need of correction. In my translation I have silently ignored errors of punctuation. Slight verbal errors have been corrected in footnotes. In the few places where I suspect a deeper corruption I have not suggested any emendation. The grammar may be bad, but the sense is clear enough, and a critical discussion of the text seems uncalled for.

The translation is not the first that has been made in English. Within twenty years of the publication of the original an anonymous version was printed in England (*A Collection of Voyages and Travels, etc.*, printed by H.C. for Awnsham and John Churchill at the Black Swan in

*The few details here given are drawn from the biographical sketch in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

Pater-noster-Row, London, 1704; vol. iv, pp. 829-45). This version contains a few happy phrases, some of which I have been glad to borrow. It is, for instance, to the anonymous translator that we owe the description of Aeva as "a civil, modest body, of rational discourse." But his is on the whole a poor version, full of mistakes and omissions, quite unfit to be reprinted.

As is characteristic of the time, the Latin of Ten Rhyne is somewhat laboured and affected, often conveying simple information in a pedantic and allusive fashion. But the style is, nevertheless, graceful and sensitive, and the translator feels challenged to render not merely the matter but the manner of the original. However little Ten Rhyne succeeded in learning about the Cape in his brief stay, he was alert and interested and his narrative has freshness and charm.

On the scientific value of the information he has to give it is not for me to pronounce. But I have been at pains to set forth in the footnotes his naive dependence on his classical models for many eloquent sentences supposed to be descriptive of the Hottentots. The curious may find some instruction and amusement here. It is always worth while to impair the authority of print.

A point of general scientific interest in the present work is the attack on Descartes. It is worth noting in this connection that Ten Rhyne had imbibed his hostility to the *à priori* method of interpreting natural philosophy from an early work of Greek science that has attracted much attention in modern times. In 1669 and again in 1672 Ten Rhyne published discussions on the Hippocratic tract On Ancient Medicine.

B.F.

Incluto atque Inlustri Viro

J. JAC. WEPFERO

Medicae Artis Antistiti, Plur. Septemviror. Ducum,
Principum, Comitum, Rerumpublicar., a Sanitate
S.P.Q. Scafusiani Archiatro, Pio, felici, sapienti,
has eruditas pagellas ex India Orient. advectas

D.D.C.Q.

Henr. Scretæ Schotn. a Zavorziz.

III. Eidus Novembreis, MDCLXXXV.

Quum nuper, Te apud externos viros principes commorante, dilectissimus filius Tuus, haut infimæ notæ medicus convolutas præsentis libelli chartas e Belgio a Gaspare Sibelio a Goor, percelebrato Daventriensium medico, missas mecum amice communicaret; easdem, propter argumenti raritatem, litterarum mox prelo subjiciendas esse censebam: quod & reliqua auctoris hujus celeberrima scripta, cedro dignissima, ab omnibus sapientiæ ingenuis professoribus permagni aestimari noverim. Impetrata igitur venia, nil prius mihi curæ fuit, quam ut exemplum concreditum ab illabsis librariorum mendis repurgatum luci publicæ sisterem, illudque nulli alii, quam Tibi, Vir plurimum Venerande, cui quoque transmissum erat, dedicarem: quem meum conatum æqui bonique consulas rogo. D.O.M. Te in longam senectam vegetum incolumemque servet; quo serus in coelum redeas, qui, ne innumeri mortalitatis senectutem immaturius exuant, auctor es. Vale.

To the renowned and illustrious

JOHN JAMES WEPFER *

Master of the Art of Medicine: Officer of Health to various

Councils, Dukes, Princes, Counts and Commonwealths:

Chief Physician to the Senate and People of Schaffhausen:

Pious, Happy, Wise:

These learned pages brought from the East Indies

are dedicated by

Henry Scretta Schotn. a Zavorziz.

November 11th, 1685.

Lately when you were tarrying abroad at the homes of distinguished citizens of foreign States, your beloved son, a doctor of no mean repute, was so kind as to present me with the scroll which I now offer you in the shape of this little book. It had been sent from Belgium by a celebrated physician of Deventer, one Gasper Sibelius a Goor. The curiosity of the matter inclined me to have it printed forthwith; for I knew that the other renowned works of this author, which are most worth of immortality, are held in the highest esteem by all honest lovers of wisdom. I therefore, after obtaining permission, made it my first business to purge the copy that had been entrusted to me of the mistakes of the scribes and to put it before the public. And to whom should I dedicate it but to you, Most Venerable Sir, to whom also in the first instance the manuscript was sent? I pray that you will smile upon my attempt. And may the great and good God keep you in activity and health to a green old age, and may you who are the cause to so many mortal men that they have not fallen untimely on old age and death yourself return late to Heaven. Farewell.

* Wepfer (1620-1695) was a famous 17th century physician and anatomist, and author of many scientific works contributing greatly to a knowledge of the human body.

Wilhelmi Ten Rhyne
Schediasma diarii, in quo de
Saldanhaco sinu, Daxinsula,
& praecipue de
Promontorio Bonae Spei,
huiusque tractus Incolis *Hottentottis*
appellatis, agitur.

Relatio adventus.

Sexto Iduum Octobris, anni MDCLXXIII. Sereno coelo, nebuloso tamen, uti ad telluris limbum assolet, horizonte, flante circio (hoc est Z.Z.W.) cursuque in tractum ex meridionali ac orientali medium instituto, maris profunditatem metientes, centum & viginti orgyiis fundum attingere impotes, hortante laetitia primo terram (monstrante nostro ὑπεμπόρῳ) ad triginta duos latitudinis gradus conspeximus. Verum adverso repulsi flatu, post varia consilia & anhelam de refocillatione expectationem XIII^o demum ejusdem mensis in semilunarem exordio Sinum Saldanha, aere tranquillo, levicule subludente vulturno (Z.O.) in arenosum fundum jecimus ancoram: ubi peregrini litoris sinum ex mapparum lineamentis cum αὐτοψίας fide pensitabamus, pictoris incuriam, vel relatoris inscitiam protinus culpantes. Id enim ferme unicum cum mappis analogum habebat genuina situatio, quod utrinque eminenti exstaret colle ostium. Caeterum *Insulae* & numero (tot enim non aderant) & situ (quatuor super nauticam pyxidem discrepante lineis) in chartis differebant, multiformibus ac coloribus frequentissimae ^{a)} *Laris*. Istic defessum itineris gravaminibus animum nova telluris amoenitate recreare impense satagens, primum *Africae* vestigium impressi, *navarcho* pariter ac *mercatore* nostris, cum remigibus quibusdam comitatus. Hic in orbem

^{a)} *alibi a me describitis*, described by me elsewhere. (See chap. iii.) (*Coloribus* is for *multicoloribus*.)

The Journal
of Wilhelm Ten Rhyne
in which is given an account
of Saldanha Bay and Dassen Island
and principally of
The Cape of Good Hope
and the Natives of that Place called Hottentots.

The Arrival.

On the 10th of October 1673, under a clear sky but with clouds at the horizon as is usual near shore, with a south-south-west wind blowing and holding a course between South and East, we took soundings and failed to find bottom at 120 fathoms, but soon had the great joy of first sighting land at a latitude of 32 degrees, the factor pointing it out to us. Driven back, however, by a contrary gale, after various shifts and much anxiety how to reprovision ourselves, on the 13th of the same month we made Saldanha Bay with its crescent-shaped entry, in a calm air with a gentle South-East wind breathing, and cast anchor in a sandy bottom.

When we examined the bay in this shore to which we had so newly come and compared the outline in our maps with the reality as presented to our eyes, we had immediate cause to blame the carelessness of the draughtsman or his informant. There was but one feature which the map had in common with the reality, to wit, a hill on either side of the harbour's mouth. For the rest, the islands differed both in number and position: they were fewer than represented in the map, and differed in position four points in the compass. They were thronged with sea-birds of varied form and hue.

Here, because I yearned to refresh my spirits, wearied by the hardships of the voyage, with the charm of a strange land, I for the first time set foot in Africa. With me came the captain, the factor, and some few oarsmen that managed our boat. The hills spread out in a great circle, the mountains drew our eyes in all directions over the

effusis collibus, & per immensum spargentibus oculos, coelum montibus suspensa terra diversissima *plantarum* gratia praedivites *Semiramidis Alcinoive* hortos, aut *Elysios* in ipso deserto campos aemulari videbatur: ubi cumulatissimam earundem ilico conquisivi sarcinam, ut viva exemplaria *botanosophis Musis* imposterum offerrem. Miratus praesertim ingentem *gummosae aloes* copiam, quae millena aliquot *amarissimi succi* pondera industrio quotannis expromere posset. Tum ad valetudinariam & jam pene agonizantem navim revocabat vespera *venatores*, petrosum maris tegentes* in reditu litus, multivario *ostracodermatôn* genere conspersum. Inde fortuitis nos subducentes periculis (quippe *Belgae* octo *hippopotamorum* venationi insudantes, miserrime nuper ibidem ab *Hottentottis* confecti erant) sublestam repetiimus acatio ratem; qua postridie, propitio extra sinum argeste (N.W.) solvimus; a meridie praeternavigantes ^{b)} *Daxinsulam*, paucis servatam excubiis ^{c)} *marinorum cuniculorum* capturae, *oviumque* pastioni ab *Illustriss. orientalium Indiarum societate*, decore ac praesidio nostro summo, designatis.

Pridie Iduum Octobris, sub noctem tranquillius ad litora nos impellebat mesolibonatus (Z.T.W.) ad viginti tres profunditatis orgyias ancoram fundantes.

*) I conjecture legentes.

b) Dassen Eylant.

c) Robben.

* This collection was sent from India to the botanist Breyn, and forms an appendix to *Plantarum exoticarum Centuria prima*, published by him in Dantzic in 1678 (B.F.)

¹⁾ This refers to a party of eight freemen who had gone with the governor's permission, in June 1673, to shoot big game for the needs of their families. They crossed the Berg River at a ford near Riebeeck's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-Four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's Kochoqua, who after detaining them for several days murdered them all. (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, 212; cf. D., June 29, July 11, July 14, 1673.) Soon afterwards four men in

vast expanse of heaven, and earth with the varied charm of many plants seemed to rival the rich gardens of Semiramis or Alcinous, or to present a vision of the Elysian fields in the midst of a wilderness. Of these plants I forthwith collected a generous supply that I might afterwards make offering of the actual specimens to the Botanical Muses.* I specially admired the enormous abundance of gum aloes, capable of an annual yield of thousands of pounds of bitter juice if cultivated. Then the approach of evening recalled us from our hunting to our ship where there were many sick men already almost at the last gasp. On our return we skirted a stony beach covered with a rich variety of shell fish. Then escaping without hurt from the dangers that might befall us (I must explain that eight Dutchmen recently who were hunting the hippopotamus perished wretchedly at the hands of the Hottentots on this very spot)¹⁾ we regained our crazy bark in the dinghy. Next day we weighed anchor, picking up a fair N.W. breeze outside the bay, and in the afternoon we sailed past Dassen Island, which is occupied only by a few posts established by the Illustrious East India Company, our great glory and protection, for catching seals and pasturing the sheep.

On the 14th of October at the fall of night a gentle S.W. breeze carried us to the shore and we cast anchor in 23 fathoms of water.

charge of the Dutch post at Saldanha Bay were also murdered by Hottentots of the same tribe. A punitive expedition under Ensign Hieronymus Cruse was despatched from the Fort at Table Bay, but the Hottentots could not be got at, except for one slight skirmish, although 800 head of cattle and 900 sheep were looted from them and brought back to the Fort. The war which started in this way dragged on for four years, the Dutch, assisted by the Capemen and other local Hottentots, sending out several expeditions against Gonnema, who with his men always managed to escape in time, although not without the loss of his cattle and sheep. Peace was finally restored in June, 1677, when the Hottentots submitted and promised to pay tribute to the Dutch. (Theal, *op. cit.*, chaps. 30, 31, *passim*; D. 1673-1677, *passim*.)

Ipsis Octobris Idibus, Suave spirante coro (N.W.)
 d) alteram, in aspectu longe sperati *bonae spei promontorii*,
 praetervecti fuimus *insulam*, V. ab arce, a Daxinsula VIII. ac
 XV. circiter a *Saldanhaco sinu*, juxta mappas, miliaribus
 distantem, atque excelso montis praecipitio (inibi enim
 tantulus sese exerit colliculus) non exaltatam, *exulum*
 concremandae pro novo *fortalitio* calci *conchylia* compor-
 tantium carcerem. Hic fertiles degunt *chamaeleontes*,
 Indicis minores, ac omnis generis *insecta*, *reptiliaque*
animalcula; ita pugno magnitudine sua aequiparandae
 aluntur ibidem praeter varios *serpentes* e) *araneae*
venenatae &c.

Pomeridiana quarta f) Mensalis sinus nos excepit
 multiplici funere deformes, ac altera die post *gubernatoris*,
 viri sine pari, mensa; quam dum ad tubae sonitum
 petimus, g) *fuci marini* permagna species (vix enim tota
 unicum plantam vexisse posset nostra minor cymba)
 nostram liburnam ad arenosam *Africae* actam impediabat.
 Caeterum *Caput bonae spei*, appropinquantibus repentini
 eventus index, sicuti & subalbidae, pusillaeque sunt,
gaviae. Placebat rerum novitate tractus, eo attentio-
 rem pervestigationis industriam suscitans, quod h) horum
 i) *incolarum* res *auctoribus* etiamnum incognitae sint.
 Ferunt enim (& nihil amplius) quendam *Imperatorem* a
Montibus lunae ad *caput B.S.* seu extrema *Africae* in
 quatuor regna distributum *Monomotapae* dictum, imperium
 protendisse.

d) Robben Eylant.

e) quas describit Charles de Rochefort in syn historie van de
 vooreylanden van America (described by Charles de Rochefort in
 his account of the islands off the coast of America).

f) de Tafel-Bay.

g) Drombassen vulgo.

h) Videatur Hornii orbis politicus. (See Horn's Political World.)

i) Imo maximae partis Africae, de cujus extensione &c.
 haesitanter admodum veteres. Resp. Aristot. lib. de mundo, c.
 9. & Apul. lib. de mundo. Adeo exigua & manca sunt, quae de
 Africa, quam illi Lybiam dixerunt, scivere iidem. (One might
 say "of the greater part of Africa," concerning the extent of
 which the ancients speak with so much hesitation, Aristotle,
de Mundo, chap. 9, and Apuleius, *de Mundo*, so slight and defec-
 tive is their knowledge of Africa, which they call Libya.)

On the 15th, with a gentle N.W. wind blowing, when we were rejoicing in the distant prospect of the long-desired Cape of Good Hope, we sailed past another island, Robben Island, distant according to the maps five miles from our fort, eight miles from Dassen Island, and about fifteen from Saldanha Bay. It is not made conspicuous by any lofty mountain peak; as a matter of fact only a low hill rises there. It is used as a prison for convicts employed in gathering shells to be burned for the lime for the new fort.* Here are many chameleons, smaller than the Indian variety, insects of every sort, small reptiles, various snakes, poisonous spiders as big as a man's fist, etc.

At four in the afternoon Table Bay received us, having lost abundance of men in this voyage, and on the next day the table of the Governor, an incomparable man.²⁾ We were summoned to his board by the sound of the bugle; and while rowing ashore our long-boat was hindered in reaching the sandy beach of Africa by a species of very large seaweed, commonly called *drombassen*. The whole of our smaller ship's boat would scarcely have sufficed to carry one plant. This seaweed is a sign to those approaching the Cape of Good Hope of their speedy arrival, as is also the presence of a species of sea-bird, an albatross of a whitish colour and small size. The place delighted us by its strangeness, the interest of the observer being excited to a livelier attention by the fact that the circumstances of the inhabitants of this part are still unknown to writers. For they say (and this is all they tell us) that a certain emperor spread his sway from the Mountains of the Moon to the Cape of Good Hope or the extremities of Africa; that his realm was divided into four kingdoms, and called Monomotapae.³⁾

* The present castle, founded 1666, occupied 1674 (the year after Ten Rhyne's visit), and finished 1676. (B.F.)

²⁾ The Governor at this time was Isbrand Goske (1672-76), the first to bear the title Governor in place of Commander. He had been sent out specially to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked by the English or French, with whom the Netherlands were then at war, and the building of the castle was completed during his tenure of office.

³⁾ Ten Rhyne hardly does justice to Hondius, Dapper and other earlier Dutch writers whose accounts of the Hottentots should have been familiar to him. Legends of Monomotapa and the vast wealth of this Empire were still current in his time, but of the Cape itself a good deal of accurate information was already available in published works.

Heic non ab ovo historiam exordiar, intra *diarii* limites commoraturus: nam num haë *gentes* a *Chamo*, *Noachi* filio (praeter *Arabes* nonnullos stirpis *Sem*, *Africam* postmodum ingressos) originem duxerint? An vero *Barbarae in Africa gentes* multa sobole increverint, quod in occulto solo frugales vixerint, & hincine terrae infelicitas numerosa* populo alimenta negarit, ut saepe novas sedes quaesituram juventutem dimiserint, atque inde forsitan incogniti hi in extremis *Africae* oris profluxerint? tanti non interest scire; modo eorum mores cognoscamus & commercia. Sed in antecessum tantisper perspiciamus *loci* indolem & situm.

Cap. I.

De situ Promontorii bonae spei.

Promontorium bonae spei appellatum, qua longitudinem (quae hic novem & triginta gradibus, ac viginti quintae scrupulis absolvitur) a *freto Gaditano*, qua latitudinem (quam triginta quatuor gradibus trigintaque minutis metiuntur) a ^{k)} *Promontorio Hesperio* & *Guardasu* ultima *Africae* portio est. Anno 1498, a *Vasco di Gama* tutela *Johannis, Portugalliae Regis*, detecta, Olympipetis excelsa montibus, infoecunditate hominibus valde infestis. Infelices etenim hae gentes proventibus, & malignis illustratae sideribus; terrae sterilitas arenis, merisque eremis informis ac vasta, crudo horret aere, nulla vegetabilium bonitate gaudens, & magis amica *sentibus tribulisque*, atque asperis *paliuris*, nisi longa culturae sedulitate, pastui facilis reddatur, perpauci tum ferax frumenti. Caetera vastissimos & petrosos montes habet, raras planities. Hinc memorabilis quidam locus est trium circiter milliarium circulo extensus in aequor; cui ob cruentam illic olim habitam pugnam hoc

*) I conjecture *numeroso* (B.F.).

k) Lusitanis & nostratibus nautis Cabo verde. (Called Cape Verde by the Portuguese and Dutch sailors.)

Here I shall not attempt to relate a regular history, my intention being to confine myself within the limits of a journal. Did these people spring originally from Ham, the son of Noah, with the exception of some Arabs of the stock of Shem who entered Africa later on? Or did the native races in Africa increase and multiply, and living frugally in a place unknown to fame, and denied sustenance for their numerous population by an unproductive soil, frequently send out their youth in quest of new lands to settle, until, it may be, these emigrants, spreading far and wide unobserved, finally settled in the remotest shores of Africa? These questions are not so important for us to answer; let us content ourselves with learning their ways of life and their dealings with others. But as a preliminary to this we must inquire for a little while into the nature and situation of the land they occupy.

CHAP. I.

The Situation of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Promontory known as the Cape of Good Hope is situated at the southernmost point of Africa. Its longitude, in respect of the Straits of Gibraltar, is 39 degrees, 25 minutes; and its latitude, in respect of the Hesperian Promontory and *Guardasu* (?) is 34 degrees and 30 minutes. It was discovered in the year 1498 by Vasco di Gama, sailing under the protection of John, King of Portugal.^{3a)} Its mountains tower up to heaven, but are barren and very unfriendly to man. The tribes here are little blessed with crops, lying under the influence of niggard stars. The barren land stretches out vast and formless in pure sandy deserts, with bronze ore thrusting through the surface, unrelieved by the blessings of vegetation, but friendly rather to thorns and thistles and rough briars, unless by assiduous and prolonged cultivation it be made to yield pasturage, which even then is but scant. Apart from the sandy wastes it consists of huge stony mountains with here and there a plain. Worthy of note, then, is a certain wide level expanse with a circumference of about three miles, where a bloody battle once took place, and which is called in consequence

^{3a)} The Cape of Good Hope was first "discovered" by Bartholomeu Dias in 1487, and doubled again by Vasco da Gama in 1497, on his famous voyage to India, the first by the Cape sea-route.

nomen. ^{l)} *De Bachaley plaets*. Alter ab illo nostratibus dicitur *De Buffels-jacht*, in accesso ^{*}) eminens monte, ultra quem planane an montosa sit regio? etiamnum ignoratur. Verum quis omnium alta montium, flexa collium, ac porrecta camporum emetiatur? Fortalitio propinquorum excelsissimus a ^{m)} *mensa* vocatus *mons* est, nomine a plano cacumine deducto, qui ex altitudine sua hunc petentibus portum *Pharus est*. Ejus vestigium quinque leucis** a fundamine distare perhibetur: ad illud saltem arduo valde ascensu sudans perveni, praeter *variarum plantarum* myriadas, paludosum *palmitidum* (quarum elegantissimae reticulatae radices sunt) lucum ad montis, per medium bifidi, pedem pertransiens, densaeque ac horrendorum vociferanti *arctopithecorum* cohorti, multisque in vespertino reditu occursans *meteoris*: quaquavorsum enim in aere tripudiabant *scintillae*, quarum primus intuitus socios, has flammantia audacissimi hic leonis lumina ominantes, terrebat; donec me manu illas prensare volentem fugerent, postea edoctum *meteora* illa limoso sui succo (micante in obscuro), a ⁿ⁾ bolidibus non differe. Alter olim loco nomen impertiens a nativa effigie, non vero a ^{o)} saevientium ventorum rugitu ^{p)} *Leonis mons* appellatur: ad cujus, supra dictum, caput duo semper in statione sunt excubitores, navium adventum praemonentes.

Praeruptos atque nivales, quois tota haec regio obvallatur, montes flumina, ut umbra corpus, sequuntur. Praecipia sunt 1. ^{q)} *Butyrosum* 2. ^{r)} *Obscaenum* 3. ^{s)} *Montanum*, quod reliquis manifestius e montibus scaturiat. 4. ^{t)} *Ἀτελεύτερον*

^{l)} Corruptus Malaycismus est, idem quod dimicationis locus. (A corrupt Malay phrase, meaning "place of battle.")

^{m)} De Tafel-Berg.

^{*}) I conjecture *inaccessio*. (B.F.)

^{**)} A leuca is a French measure = 1,500 paces (du Cange). *Vestigium* seems to be put by mistake for *fastigium* (B.F.).

^{a)} Sternschot; sic cujusdam ex notis meis calceis sese adfricuerat dictum bolidis referens indolem. (This sentence seems to me corrupt. B.F.)

^{o)} Ut vult Mercator in Ptolom. de Africa, quam ab hac parte ita procellosam statuit, ut navigantes hoc, non nisi necessitate coacti, appellant Promontorium; accomodus nostris refocillationis locus, congruumque diverticulum, ingentibus nihilominus expositum flatibus. (As Mercator says in his *Ptolemy on Africa*, alleging Africa to be so stormy in this part that sailors never put in at the Cape unless forced; but our men find the place most convenient for revictualling and a suitable port of call, although exposed to mighty winds.)

^{p)} De Leeuwenberg.

^{q)} De Boter-Rivier.

^{r)} Kafferkuks rivier.

^{s)} Berg rivier.

^{t)} Rivier sonder eynde.

Bakkeley Plaats.⁴⁾ There is also another plain, called by our countrymen De Buffelsjacht,⁵⁾ perched on a mountain difficult of access, beyond which it is not yet known whether the country is flat or mountainous. But who could measure all those mountain heights, winding hills, and spreading plains?

Of the mountains near the Fort the loftiest is called Table Mountain, from its flat top, and from its height it is a beacon for those seeking this harbour. From base to summit it is said to measure five *leucæ*.^{*} And certain it is that it was after a very stiff climb and the loss of much sweat that I succeeded in scaling it. There were myriads of different plants; and at the foot of the mountain, which is cleft through the middle, I passed through a marshy grove of palmitides, with sharply reticulated roots. Once we met a terrifying troop of yelling baboons; and during our descent in the evening saw many "meteors." Sparks were dancing in every direction in the air, and the first sight of them terrified my companions, who supposed that these must be the blazing eyes of lions, noted here for their daring. But when I tried to catch them in my hand the sparks fled; and I learned subsequently that these "meteors" resemble in their marshy juice, which glows in the darkness, the meteor *bolis*. Another mountain which formerly gave its name to the place is called Lion Mountain, not from the roaring of the savage winds, but from its natural shape. On its summit are always posted two look-outs to give warning of the approach of ships.

The sheer snowy mountains with which all this region is hemmed in are naturally associated with rivers as a body is with its shadow. The most important are: 1. Bot river, 2. Palmiet river (?), 3. Berg river, which springs more obviously than the others from the mountains, 4. River Sonder End, rising among the mountains but of extent unknown as yet, 5. Breede river, a shallow stream, very

⁴⁾ Bakkeley Plaats is near the village of Vredendal, west of Van Rhynsdorp. The name is derived from the Malay *barkelchi*, to fight, and refers to a skirmish which took place here in May, 1668, between the Dutch stationed at Saldanha Bay and some Namaqua who had stolen some cattle and sheep from them and from other Hottentots. (D., May 17, 1668; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 134).

⁵⁾ Probably the Buffelsjagt R. in the district of Swellendam, to which cattle-trading expeditions were often sent from Hottentots Holland. The country beyond was not fully known until after Schryver's journey of 1689.

* See note on opposite page. The height of Table Mountain is 3,582 feet, so that Ten Rhyne's estimate is somewhat generous.

seu *sine fine flumen*, ex montibus ortum, hactenus, quousque se extendat, ignotum. 5. ^{u)} *Latum*, ex adsitarum arborum ordine amoenissimum, minime profundum, 6.^{v)} *Paludosum*. Hi, quibus abunde irrigatur ille tractus, fluvii dulci & percocto latice suo plerique saltem saluberrimi sunt.

XVI. Kalendarum Novembris spatiosissimum ^{w)} Ampliss. Societatis *Hortum* novam adventantibus navigiis annonam copiosissime suppeditantem, nec non *limoniorum*, *citrionum*, *arantiorumque malorum* viridariis, densis *Rorismarini* septimentis, & suaveolentis *laureti* apricitatibus (proceram sua altitudine exaequantibus arborem) laetum, rivuloque e radice montis orto, ac jucundissima ubertate in eum exudante divisum, hoc est, ipsam inter medios *paliuros* sterilesque *dumos* viriditatem, visi. Inde oculos in contiguos diffundens montes, euronoti (venti Z.O.) originem evidenter eminus licet spectabam: cum enim propinquorum juga montium alta, sensimque declinante vestiuntur nube, adsunt procellosi praeludio vulturni (pro nubis raritate vel spissitudine, magnitudine vel parvitate, denique ascensu descensuve, vel magis minusve impetuos) quem saepius ad oculum de *mensali* decidere *monte* vidi. Hunc magno plerumque turbine, & fere semper spirantem ac si *Aeolus* huic regno imperitaret, conspexi. Attamen licet astra certis itineribus semper teneant cursum, non eosdem aeri motus infundunt. Ita hic alius terris, nec sibi undique similis, alius eodem momento aquis, bivariam, imo trivariam in hoc sinu divisus, atque etiamnum extra eundem aliorum ductus, dominatur ventus; idque diversus montium respectus efficit. Nam etiamsi admodum tranquillus alibi sit aer, *Mons* tamen *Mensali* maxime continuus, semper eructat flamen ^{x)} *diabolicus* inde dictus.

Quodcirca si locorum situs ad experientiae lumen accuratius examinaretur, forsitan non ita incertis vagaretur finibus navigatio; ubi incertitudinis ignorantiam abditis imputant aestibus undarumque pressuris artifices. Ast unde secus ^{y)} statim dependent venti, nisi ab altis & nivalibus

^{u)} Bree-rivier.

^{v)} Moeras-rivier.

^{w)} De E. Compagn. Thuyne.

^{x)} Duyvelsberg.

^{y)} Passaet-winden.

pleasant by reason of the trees along its banks, 6. Elands Kloof river.* These rivers, with which the region is copiously irrigated, are, for the most part at least, very wholesome with their sweet sun-warmed waters.

On the 17th October I visited the extensive gardens of the noble Company, the abundant source of fresh supplies to visiting ships. It was a lovely sight with its plantations of lemons, citrons, and oranges, its close hedges of rosemary, and its laurels, equal in height to a tall tree, all fragrant in the sun. Through it runs a river that rises at the foot of the mountain, the waters of which are the cause of its smiling fertility. It is the very essence of greenness set in the midst of thorns and barren thickets. From there I ranged with my eyes over the neighbouring mountains, and could plainly see, though at a distance, the source of the S.E. wind. For when the summits of the mountains in the vicinity are covered with a deep bank of cloud gradually creeping down, then comes the stormy South-Easter, its greater or less violence being in accordance with the rarity or density of the cloud, its largeness or smallness, its rise or fall. This cloud I have often seen with the naked eye descending from Table Mountain. I have noticed that this wind generally comes in great gusts and that it is always blowing, as if this were the kingdom of Aeolus. For although the stars keep ever on their way with unvarying course, they do not impart the same motions to the air. So here, while one wind, and that not a steady one, prevails on land, another at the same moment is found on the sea, blowing in two or three directions in the bay, and in still a different direction outside it. The cause lies in the various physical features of the mountains. For even if the air be quite still elsewhere, yet the mountain which is continuous with Table Mountain is always vomiting forth a gale, and is hence called Devil's Peak.

In this connection I might remark that if the physical features of different places were examined more accurately in the light of experience, the art of navigation might not wander within such ill-defined limits. At present the exponents of the art attribute the ignorance arising from their uncertainty to mysterious currents and wave pressures. But on what else can trade winds depend, if not on lofty snow-capped mountains, especially if you remember that these winds blow at the time of the melting of the snows? Where the quarter of the wind is unchanging, or changes but once a year, the only possible operative

* There is room for doubt as to the identification of rivers no. 2 and 6 in this list, Ten Rhyne's information is so slight. See *Journals of Bergh and Schrijver*, ed. Mossop, V.R.S. 12, Appendix C. (B.F.)

montibus tempore quo nives solvuntur praesertim spirantes. Verum ubi perpetua, vel semel quotannis inversa ventorum statio est, solus montium respectus, solisque cursus annuus id praestent opus est. Caeterum & a magnis paludibus, saltem ab amplissimis vaporum promptuariis, hae mutationes procedere possunt.

Idcirco regionum situs ac natura, aequae ac maris aestus a *Navarchis* cognosci deberet; veluti in Gallico litore, inter *S. Malo* urbem & *insulam Wigth*, quas inter periculosa *Pila in Normandia* (quae *C. de la Hagne* dicitur in Mappis) exstat, expertus sum. Sed difficultatum plenissima haec inquisitio, a propinquis non modo, sed etiam a longinquis locis, saepe a solis ascensu descensu & recessu intensio & remissio, ab anni tempore inversio statim venti derivanda est. Ast magis in occulto latet perennium ventorum caussa, & certe ipse haud interpretetur Oedipus, ex quali montium ad planities relatione dependeat euronoti (Z.O.) per plerasque orbis partes vulgatissimi, & hujus *Promontorii B. S. possessoris*, perpetuum spiramen.

Si haec similiaque experiundi opportunitas *Renato philosophorum Coryphaeo* fuisset, hic solam lunam non invocasset tutelarem suae sententiae Deam. Quippe generalibus obligari se negat natura legibus, ubi expertae inductionis artificio opus est. Ita fluxus & refluxus maris non ubique ad ^{a)} *des Cartes* se flectit hypotheses: alius enim in *mari Ligusticò, Tyrrheno & Baltico*; vehementissimus in *Golfo de Jaqueta*; hinc in *nova Francia* * *Le passage courant*, & in *Mexicano sinu Canalis Bahame*. Plures de vi magnetica eidem imputari possent hallucinationes. Sed ne extra pomoeria! Caeterum circumjacentia exactius perspicerem loca, flumina, montes. Sic quinque extra *fortalitium* leucis ^{b)} *salipromus* extat *sinus*, cibarii fertilissimus *salis*, qui fossilis, ideoque potius *gemmae*, quam *maris*, *sal* dicendus: inconcisam servat figuram; frustula plerumque

a) Princip. Philos. part 4 § 49 &c. Isaac Vossius de motu marium & ventorum; cujus *παράδοξι* plerique nautarum se opponunt, qui primus illis Sacteronos est. (Isaac Voss on the motion of the seas and winds. Most sailors are opposed to his paradox.) (The word *Sacteronos* is unknown to me. B.F.)

* I have not identified *Le passage courant*. B.F.

b) De Sout baey (Salt Bay).

causes are the physical features of the mountains and the annual course of the sun. Not but what we must also admit the possibility that these changes should arise from great marshes, which are very ample store-rooms of vapours.

For this reason the physical features of places should be studied by captains just as much as the tides and the currents. I have myself had experience of this on the coast of France between the town of S. Malo and the Isle of Wight, where there is a dangerous ridge on the coast of Normandy called on the maps Cape de la Hagne. But the enquiry is full of difficulties. The freshening or slackening of a trade wind depends not only on near but on distant places, and often on the rising or setting and recession of the sun; while its change of direction depends on the season of the year. But the cause of winds that blow throughout the year is still more obscure, and Oedipus himself could scarcely solve the riddle of the relationship of mountain to plain on which depends the perpetual blowing of the South-Easter, a common wind in many parts of the world, a permanent possessor of the Cape of Good Hope.

If Descartes, the prince of philosophers, had had the opportunity of experiencing these and other like phenomena, he would not have invoked the moon alone as the presiding deity of his thought. Indeed Nature refuses to be bound by general laws, where there is need of induction based on experience. Thus the ebb and flow of the sea does not everywhere obey the hypotheses of Descartes. It is different in the Ligurian, Tyrrhenian, and Baltic Seas, it is very violent in the Gulf of Jacquetta; in New France we have *le passage courant*; and in the Gulf of Mexico the Bahama Channel. To Descartes also many ravings about the force of the magnet can be attributed. But I must not stray beyond bounds. Let me rather describe with more care the adjacent localities, rivers, mountains.*

Five *leucae* from the Fort there is a salt-producing bay, Salt Bay,** very rich in edible salt. This salt is mined, and is therefore to be called rather a crystal salt than sea salt. It keeps its shape if not broken up. The pieces are generally large, but can easily be ground to a fine powder.

* What Ten Rhyne is protesting against in this paragraph is the *à priori* approach of Descartes to natural philosophy. It is peculiarly interesting then to note that Ten Rhyne had made a special study of the Hippocratic tract on Ancient Medicine. (B.F.)

** Salt Bay (*i.e.* Riet Vlei, beyond Milnerton. B.F.)

magna, sed in tenuissimum facile terenda pulverem. In ipsa albicat matrice, quamvis & niger reperiatur; ast cum ingenti adurit aestu canicula, sponte prorumpit facie micante albida, nostratium *commune sal* acrimonia tantisper antecellens, congruumque ciborum condimentum. Num quod, si quis in Africa (ut *Aristotelis*^{c)} tempore jam compertum) prope mare infoderit, aquam principio dulcem, post brevi salsam inveniet?

Cap. II.

De Brutis.

Montosa haec salitudo *feris brutis*, quam *hominibus* aptior habitatio est: hic enim nocentissimi armentis *leones*, *elephantes*, *rhinocerotes*,^{d)} *tigrides* seu potius *pantherae*, *lupi*, *alces*,^{e)} *hippopotami*, *agrestes equi*, *bubali*, *apri*, *oresitrophi*, *napes*, *arctopithecii*, *histrices*, *echini*, *putorii*, *lynxes*, *cervi*, *daxi*, *meles*, *lutrae*, *lepores*, & pulcerrimi coloris *onagri*, ac si nigro corio albas ordine inseruisset *strias* pellio: *caprae*, *rupricaprae*, *ibices*, cum maculosi tum cinerei: *hirci rupisultores*, *feles silvatici*, tigriformes atque cani; *vulpiumque* quaedam species, quam Belgae *zachhalse* dicunt; rariores^{f)} *Tamandua-Guacu*, a *Brasiliensibus* sola magnitudine diversae. Ingentem sane beluarum copiam illic hospitari necesse est; cum millena aliquot brevi temporis intercapedine captorum, praesertim *hippopotamorum*, *alcium*, *ibicum*, consimiliumque pondera, a paucis venatoribus *Gubernatori* producta sint. Unde patet, quam graviter lapsus sit *g)* *Aristoteles*, ubi in *Africa* (ubi *equi*^{h)} non de-est belua dente ad mortes pretiosa suas) non *aprum*, non *cervum*, non *capram silverstrem* inveniri tradit.

c) Lib. Problem. Sect. 23 probl. 21. (Aristotle's Problem is stated thus: "Why is it that in Libya, if one digs a hole near the sea, the water that first comes is drinkable, but afterwards quickly becomes salty, but this happens less elsewhere?" B.F.)

d) Premit advena dentes tigris, ut bibat humanum populo lugente cruorem. Petron. Satyr. (The stranger tiger snaps his jaws, that he may drink human gore while the people mourn. Petronius, Satyrae.) (The reference is to §119, lines 16-18. The quotation is garbled. B.F.)

It is white even in its natural deposit, although black specimens are also found. But when the dog days scorch it with their tremendous heat, of its own accord it splits and shows a gleaming white surface. It surpasses the common salt of our country somewhat in pungency of taste, and forms a most agreeable accompaniment of food. Can this be the reason why (as already known in Aristotle's time) if one digs near the sea in Africa, one first finds sweet water, then, after a little, salt?

CHAP. II.

Animals.

This mountainous desert is a fitter habitation for wild beasts than for men; for here are to be found lions, the cruel enemies of flocks and herds, elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers or rather panthers, wolves, elks, hippopotamuses, wild horses, buffaloes, boars, mountain-bred *napes* (?), baboons, porcupines, hedge-hogs, *putorii* (?), lynxes, stags, rabbits, badgers, otters, hares, zebras of a most beautiful colouring, as if a furrier had inserted white stripes at regular intervals in a black hide, goats, mountain goats, ibexes, both spotted and ash-coloured, springboks, wild cats, shaped like tigers and grey, a species of fox which the Dutch call *jakhals*, and more rarely *Tamandua-Guacu* (?), differing only in size from the Brazilian variety. In truth an enormous supply of animals must harbour here, for in a brief space of time a few hunters brought the governor several thousands of pounds weight of animals they had taken, chiefly hippopotamuses, elks, ibexes, and similar creatures. Hence we can see into how serious an error Aristotle fell when he says that in Africa (where there is no lack of that beast whose teeth are precious at its death) the boar, the stag, and the wild goat are not to be found.

e) *Prodigiosae magnitudinis beluae, a me non semel conspectae, quas saepe cum vitae periculo venatum eunt nostrates: videatur Plin. lib. 8. cap. 25 & c. 26.* (Beasts of enormous size seen more than once by me. Our countrymen often go to hunt them at the peril of their lives. See Pliny, Natural History, bk. 8, chaps. 25 and 26.)

f) *Quas Marcgravius describit sub nomine Mienen detders. Hist. quadrup. lib. suo 6. cap. 4.* (Described by Marcgravius under the name Mienen. *History of Quadrupeds*, bk. 6, chap. 4.)

g) *de hist. anim. lib. 8 cap. 28.*

h) *Petron. in satyr.* (The reference again is to Petronius *Satyræ*. §119, lines 15, 16. *Equi* seems to be corrupt. The passage in Petronius concerns the elephant. B.F.)

CAP. III.

De Avibus.

Inter aves frequentes satis, & diversicolores, ⁱ⁾ *struthiocameli*, *pavones*, *grues*, *ciconiae nigrae*, *ardeae*, *anser*, *onocrotali*, *anates*, *penelopes*, *querquedulae*, *glauca*, *mergi*, *urinatrices*, ^{k)} *fulicae*, *boscades*, *penguini*, *perdices*, *rubicantes* & *cinerei phasian*, *vanelli*, *ficedulae*, *gallinagines minores*, *ululae*, *cepphorum myriades*, ^{l)} *apodes*, ac variae tincturae *hirundines*, ^{m)} *colibrydes*, seu *verticillatae* cujusdam plantae suctores, & *pelicani* quaedam species, quam Galli ⁿ⁾ *les Flammands*, nostrates a Lusitanis id docti *Flaminken*, variegatis erectis plumis.

CAP. IV.

De Piscibus.

Hic quoque mare fluviique suas dant feras, *leones*, *cuniculosque marinos*, *guapervas Brasiliensium*, ^{o)} *balaenas*, levesque *galeos*, *thynnos* (mensae decus) *salmones*, *rajas*, *mugiles*, *musculos*, *auratas*, *decumanas*, *anguillas*, binasque e genere *cyprini* species, *Incolae* nuncupant *Hottentots vis*, hi quippe illis delectantur, cum squammosi, saxatiles grataeque carnis sint; altera permagna mensarum dapes est, *steenbraesem* vocitata: Tum *Caniculae* speciem, quam *Lusitani* ^{p)} *Cassaon* appellant: *ostreas*, *cammaros*, *cancros*, verasque *torpedines*, *turbines*, *sepia* & viriformes *conchas*, quas inter *Pareo* dictus *natator Plinio nautilus* est.* Sed ire per omnes vetat propositi compendium; unum tamen addam in epilogum. Cum oram curvi molliter litoris leni unda tusam legerem, in ejectaneos sciscitaturus maris foetus, quaedam *animalcula*, scopulis firmissime adhaerentia inveni, *multipeda* vitalium fibrarum exsertione rosas eminentia, unde Belgicum vulgus *Klipproosen* vocat.

i) Huc transferatur locus Esai, cap. 13. v. 21. (Cf. Isaiah, 13: 21.)

k) vid. Charles de Rochefort lib. cit. p.m. 133.

l) Non apodes, licet Plin. lib. 10. c. 39. hoc nomen illis indiderit, & sine pedibus describerit; uti veteres paradisi dictas aves apodas putare perperam. (They are not footless, although Pliny, bk. 10, chap. 39, gives them this name and describes them as being without feet. The ancients also believed, falsely, that birds of paradise, as they are called, are without feet.)

m) Alibi a me describitur vid. idem Rochefort p.m. 141. Quo & referri poterit Brasiliensii Guaimumbi, quam Maregravius, bloemenspecht interpretatur, cujus ille novem recenset species, ego ex repertis tantum tres alibi descripsi. (Described elsewhere by me. See Rochefort, p.m. 141. To this may be compared also the Brazilian Guaimumbi, which Maregravius translates bloemen-

CHAP. III.

Birds.

Among the birds, which are plentiful enough and of varied colours, are ostriches, peacocks, cranes, black storks, herons, geese, pelicans, ducks, penelopes, querquedulae, glaucia, divers, urinatrices, coots, boscaides, penguins, partridges, red and ash-coloured pheasants, vanelli, figpeckers, the lesser gallinago, screech-owls, myriads of cephi, martins, swallows of various hue, colybrides, or suckers of a certain verticillated plant, and a certain kind of pelican called by the French *Flammants*, and by our countrymen, who learned the name from the Portuguese, *Flaminken*, with upstanding variegated plumage.

CHAP. IV.

Fish.

Here the sea and also the rivers yield their own wild creatures, sea-lions, sea-rabbits, guapervas of Brazil, whales, small sharks, tunnies (the glory of the table), salmon, rays, mullets, mussels, gilt-bream, decumanae, eels, two species of carp (the inhabitants call them Hottentots' fish, since the Hottentots delight in them, because they are scaly, and haunt the rocks, and have a tasty flesh). Another large table fish is the *steenbras*. Then there is a species of dog-fish, which the Portuguese call *Cassaon*. Also oysters, lobsters, crabs, the true torpedo, turbines, cuttlefish, and viriform shells, among which is the Pareo, called by Pliny the sailing nautilus. But to enumerate all is impossible within the narrow limits I have set myself; I shall merely add one to conclude. When I was skirting the edge of a gently curving shore beaten by quiet waves in order to prosecute my researches into the offspring which the sea casts forth from her womb, I discovered certain animalcula firmly attached to the rocks, which by the innumerable living fibres they thrust out present a rosy hue, and are in consequence popularly known among the Dutch as rock-roses.

specht, and of which he enumerates nine species, while I from my own observations have noted but three, described elsewhere.)

n) vid. eundem p.m. 133.

o) Balenae quaedam species hic frequens Belgice wont-kapers & vin-vissen. (A certain species of whale common here, called by the Dutch *wont-kapers* and *vin-vissen*.)

p) vide Marcgrav. lib. 4. c. 12.

*) Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 47.1. (B.F.)

CAP. V.

De insectis & venenosis Animalibus.

Non horum, nec insectorum hic ullus esset finis; publica sunt variformes *cantharides*, *papiliones*, *mordellae*, ^{q)} *cicindelae*, variaequae scheseos *locustae*, plurimi *curculiones*, & diversicolores *millepedae* ^{r)} *araneae*, pugno magnitudine aequiparandae, ac variae *formicae*, quae grandibus pabuli acervis (quos parcissime ad novam arcem extruendam calce posse substitui autumabat a *Fisco Dominus*: illos ego divulsos multis *formicarum* myriadibus suffertos detexi) in vicinis montibus se ipsas inhumant.

Communia ex venenatis sunt *serpentes*, effigie, magnitudine, & loco discrepantes, *viperæ* duplo quam in Gallia repperi, majores; *salamandrae*, *scorpiones*, *scolopendrae*, *lacerti*, *bufones*; de quorum origine cum *Gubernatore*, viro ab experientia incomparabili, disserens; mirabar eorundem illic loci imaginem; cum patriis triplo majores praelongis a tergo pedibus, attarum instar, terram potius verrerent. Hoccine miraris, regerebat *Ille*, protinus adferri jubens de *Holothuriorum* genere *pisces bufoniformes*, extra ventrem gestantes pedes. En! hi nostratium bufonum conceptacula sunt; veluti ipsemet postea observavi, ex hoc nempe pisce bufonem progigni; tum etiam talem exenterans coram *Gubernatori piscem*, singula ferme intestina, praesertim pulmones, quibus large instruebantur, uti in *bufonibus*, *ranisve* consimilia reperi.

Caetera animatorum genera vel visum non subiere meum, vel visa tantillo tempore, quo illic morabar prosecare non potis fui singula, hic in *Stagiriticam* proclivis sententiam; ^{s)} In *Asia* nempe efferatiores, in *Europa* fortiores, in *Africa* multiformiores bestias provenire: Unde natum proverbium: ^{t)} *Africam* semper aliquid novi proferre. Cum aquarum indigentia beluas, levandae sitis gratia convenientes, illic convocet, ut promiscua venere coeant. Quod in desertissimis forte verum est locis; secus indefinita *Africum* perfluunt flumina.

q) De quibus dictus Rochefort p.m. 123.

r) His analogam dat figuram Rochef. p.m. 129. (Rochefort gives an analogous shape for them.)

s) loco supra citato (see former citation). (Hist. of Animals, viii, 28.)

t) Aristot. dicto loco & lib. de generat. anim. lib. 2. cap. 7.

CHAP. V.

Insects and Poisonous Creatures.

Neither of the poisonous creatures nor of the insects could there be given any complete enumeration here. Among the latter are common various beetles, butterflies, mordellae, glow-worms, locusts of different sorts, many weevils, millepede spiders of various colours, comparable in size to a man's fist, and several kinds of ant, which bury themselves in great heaps of food in the neighbouring mountains. The Treasurer asserted that these ant-heaps could be sparingly substituted for lime in the building of the new fort. I broke some open and disclosed myriads of ants swarming within.

Among the poisonous creatures snakes are common, differing in shape, size and habitat. There are vipers twice as big as I have found in France, salamanders, scorpions, scolopendrae, lizards, toads. Of the origin of these I discoursed with the Governor, a man of incomparable experience; I expressed surprise at the appearance of the toads in that place, which were three times the size of our native ones and had very long hind legs like (?) , with which they swept the ground. "You are surprised at this," said he in reply, forthwith ordering some specimens of toad-shaped fish of the genus *Holothuria* (water-polypes), with feet below their bellies, to be brought. "Look, these are the source from which our toads are born." And this I myself afterwards observed, to wit, a toad produced from this fish. I also disembowelled a fish of this sort in the presence of the Governor and found all the internal organs, especially the lungs with which they are generously supplied, to be like those of toads or frogs.

Other classes of living things I either did not see at all, or, if seen, in the very short time of my sojourn there, could not examine minutely. But I am inclined to adopt the opinion of the Stagirite, that in Asia the most savage, in Europe the strongest, in Africa the most various wild animals are brought forth. Hence has sprung the saying: Africa always produces something new. Aristotle gives as the reason that the lack of water gathers together different animals to relieve their thirst with the result that they copulate promiscuously. But this must be understood of the deserts of Africa, which otherwise is watered by many great rivers.

CAP. VI.

De Plantis.

Verum Botanicum me mage cepit studium, quippe hoc sterile etiamsi solum, omnigenis scatet *plantis*, quibus peculiarem descriptionis locum dicavi. Sive enim litori quis inambulet, ludentem faventemque vegetabilibus naturam, ubi ego herbae *kali* (de cujus *sale* tantum veteres, plus tamen strepunt novaturientes) aestimabam copiam. Sive per plana vagetur, immensam earundem varietatem, praesertim elegantium *ericarum*, multiflorum *sedorum*, luxuriantium *Ornithogalorum*, *narcissorumque* (quorum bulbi humanum etjam caput magnitudine exaequant, jam dudum ad curiosos in *Hollandiam* missi) *geranij* noctu odori &c. suaveolentiam. Sive per montes currat, arborum (quas inter species quaedam omnes alias frequentia antecedit; ejus lignum prae duritie *Belgis yserhout*, usque huc Vulcano soli dicatum) fruticumque silvas, & in collibus frugiferam *aloem* probandamque *scammoneam*, uberrime offendet; & in hortis ^{u)} *solanum Indicum*, quandamque ^{v)} *Melonum* speciem, mirandam ex longo itinere adventantibus diuretica sua virtute refocillationem conciliantium. Tum transvectam *torrida zona Musam* (*Piran Malay, Arabes Amusas* vocant) de quibus expertorum fide constat, *Illas*, uti & *Cocos*, tantum intra, nunquam extra *tropicos* efflorescere, atque loca aequinoctiali lineae propinquiora & plures & majores horum fructus, juxta declinationem ab Aequatore per gradus gradatim quoque numero & magnitudine decrescere, & tandem evanescere; sic raram & sine frugibus *Musam* ad *Caput B. S.* reperi; & in *Bengala* extra *tropicos*, *mala* ac *pyra Hollandica*, *Cocci* vel *Musae* nulli: verum *Mesquetti*, in eodem *Bengalae regno*, & in *Persia* a *tropici* initio fructus hi, sed sine succo nascuntur, in appropinquatione ad lineam, succulentiores, grandioresque. Verum aspera & inculta regio arboribus, alibi mollescentibus, dum* inspirat indolem; subtiliorque quam patrius est, aër intensiores vires.

^{u)} Spaens-Spec of *Ritsies*.

^{v)} Nostrates perperam *waterlimoenen*: Hos delineat Rochef. p.m. 104. (Our countrymen wrongly call them *waterlimoenen*. See sketch in Rochefort, p.m. 104.)

*) Read *suam*. B.F.

CHAP. VI.

Plants.

To botanical studies I devoted greater attention, for this soil, barren though it be, abounds in plants of every sort, to the description of which I have set aside a special work. For, in the first place, if one takes a walk upon the shore one encounters conditions that produce a luxuriance of vegetable life. Here I myself have seen quantities of the plant kali, about the salt of which the ancients spoke so much and the modern pundits speak still more. Or, on the other hand, if one strolls across the flats, there is again an immense variety of plants, especially comely ericas, house-leeks of various kinds, luxuriant Star of Bethlehem plants, and narcissi. The bulbs of these often equal a human head in size, and specimens were long ago sent to Holland to satisfy the curious. There are also geraniums that smell sweetly by night. Or, again, if one ranges the mountains, there are woods full of trees and shrubs. Among the various species of tree one is more common than all the rest. It is called ironwood by the Dutch, but up till now it has been dedicated solely to Vulcan. And in the hills there is a fruit-bearing aloe, and good kind of scammony. In the garden there is the Indian nightshade, and a certain species of melon, which wonderfully restores the health of those who arrive after a long voyage by its diuretic quality. Then there is the Musa brought from the torrid zone (the Malays call it Piran, the Arabs Amusas), with regard to which we have it on the authority of those who have tested the matter, that they, like the coco-palm, flourish only inside, never outside, the tropics. Places which are nearer the equinoctial line have more and larger specimens of these fruits, which gradually decrease in number and in size according to the various degrees of declination from the Equator, and at length disappear. Thus it was only rarely that I found the Musa at the Cape of Good Hope, and always without fruit. In Bengal, outside the tropics, there are apples and pears of the Dutch variety, no coco-palms or Musae. But at Mesquetti, a place in the same kingdom of Bengal, and in Persia from the beginning of the tropic, these fruits grow, but without juice. The nearer they get to the line, the juicier and larger they become. A rough and uncultivated region imparts its own natural qualities to trees that are elsewhere soft and delicate, while an air more fine than their native air intensifies their strength.

CAP. VII.

De Anni Temporibus.

Hic horrida non valde saevit bruma, nec toties increpant grandines, neve glacie congelantur flumina, maximum pruina conferente frigus: Hic enim non in quatuor, sed in duas, veluti in *India* vestra, periodos dividitur annus. Hiemen pluvia facit, aestatem siccitas, utraque furentibus concitata ventis. Ita ut cum in patria *Sirius* aestuat, riget hic nimbosus *Orion*.* Cum enim in patria appropinquat *aequatori* sol; hic inverso cursu ab eodem recedit. Tum si unus eligatur ex *Hollandia* locus *Amstelaedamum* V. G. hoc *bonae spei Promontorium* 17 gradibus & 51 minutis, qua latitudinem praepositur; postponitur vero 11 gradibus & 30 scrupulis, si longitudinem spectas: Octobri enim mense (qui hic aestatis initium efficit) cum in patria arborum raduntur comae, vegetantia hic primum pullulascebant.

CAP. VIII.

De hujus Eparchiae Incolis *Hottentottis*.

Nomen est in varias nationes divisis;

1. Quarum princeps illa, quam *Essequaes* faciunt. Natio, cum ex multitudine tum corporis proceritate (semigigantes enim putaveris) & robore fortissima; ideoque a suis nunquam impune laccessita. Si enim *Namacquas* &c. duas tresve pecudes abstulerint, ilico in eos bello saeviunt, penitiora cogniti a nostratibus tractus ad CL. & paullo plus milliarium distantiam incolentes, ad insolitum nostrorum armorum expautes visum; aliâs cum illis, qui consuetam ad *Caput B.S.* sedem tenent, moribus convenientes. Quorsum una quotannis vice jussu *Gubernatoris*, ex *tabaco*, *araco*, & *aeneis torquibus*, quibus illi ex diutina exspectatione impensius inhiant, mercimonia, commutando lucroso pecori, transferuntur.

*) From Virgil, *Aen.* I, 535. (B.F.)

CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 51 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:—

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Essequaes*.⁶) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, though inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting.

⁶) The Hessequas (see above, p. 39) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 135.

2. Alteram *Namacquaes* constituunt, hunc sibi peculiarem in vestitu servantes ritum: quod ubi alii vulpino, caprinove corio, hi ex elephantino dente contextis canistellis pudenda tegant, vix penetrabilibus aliis tutiores in bello scutis.

3. Hos sequuntur *Sousvas*, ejusdem cum nostris Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Hinc *Sonquas*, quibus sontica* de caussa a nostratibus ereptae sunt pecudes, ut silvis degentes alimoniam ex desertis, ferarum praesertim venatione petere cogantur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregoriquas*.

6. Inimicum agmen claudunt *Honnimas*, quibuscum nostrates ob dira municipum homicidia bella gerunt. Quorum *praefectus supremus*, *Honnima* dictus, claudus etiamsi senex; strenuus tamen miles est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros securi arcem frequentant, auxiliares in terrestri bello copias componunt. Eorum praefectus generalis *Claes* appellatur, & ab illo secundus *Capteyn Cuyper*, egregii uterque & vafrī milites, non semel a me visi, mera cum nudipeda plebe mendicabula: sic huic, sex stipatoribus comitato, emendicatum *tabaci* frustulum pluries dedi, Gallice tantillum cum eodem locutus.

* Ten Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 90) about Table Mountain and the table of the Governor. B.F.

7) See above, p. 34.

8) A misleading description; the garment referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully pleated and prepared skin" (see above, p. 38). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the Cape Hottentots wore goatskins, for none of them possessed any goats.

9) Van Meerhoff describes these as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 58).

10) The Chainouquas (see above, p. 26), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Souswa.

11) Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1669 Cruse encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandise, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 26, 1669: Moodie, *Record*, 303-4).

12) Called *Karichuriquas* by Dapper.

13) i.e. Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 23). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 88).

2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.⁷⁾ They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.⁸⁾ They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.⁹⁾

3. After them come the *Sousvas*,¹⁰⁾ with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,¹¹⁾ who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.¹²⁾

6. The *Honnimas*¹³⁾ are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,¹⁴⁾ both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

¹⁴⁾ Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1673-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Sousoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Mossop, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1666, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1672, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoots Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackkgy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince") (!) (Moodie, *Record*, 318-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

CAP. IX.

De Connexione cum aliis.

Quinam vero *Hottentottis* contermini sint populi, necdum ita planum est; auriti plures quam oculati testes sunt, qui de w) *Nigritis* mussitant. Sic aliis persuasum vult decurio quidam nostras; se ab ultimis (ad quorum emissus erat fines, sextuplici consortio stipatus) *Hottentottorum* nepotibus, a caeteris vita & moribus plane discrepantibus, & nondum speciali nomine notis praecepisse, inter se & *Nigritas* spatiosum quoddam interjacere flumen, quod cymbis ex arborum cavamine fabrefactis, permutandis mercibus trajicerent. Caeterum *Hottentottis* x) inter se nulli fines.

CAP. X.

De Corporis habitu.

Uti universo hominum generi, praeter patriae indolem, proprius quidam connascitur instinctus; ita non minori miraculo per tot secula & tot populorum nomina, unicuique hominum sua, & ab aliis deflexa, lineamenta *natura* invenit, quae tam vultus, quam animi indices, ineffabilem inter mortales differentiam efficiunt. Sic *Hottentottorum* plerique quasi sole adusti fusca undique cute inumbrantur, sanguine sicco calidoque communiter praediti; nonnullorum tamen subcandicans vultus a patria ferrugine recedit. Quamvis nigerrimi illis pulcerrimi; ac dum versicolores terras vel capillis inspergunt, vel adipe mixtas facies illinunt, semet cosmeticae maximopere indulgere censent; Invenitur enim in hac regione colores promens mons, laboriosa sedulitate

w) Vulgo, Kaffers.

x) Ut de Scythis, quos hodie Turcas appellamus. Just. lib. 2. histor. (As with the Scythians, whom today we call Turks. Justin, bk. 2 of the history.) (His actual words are: *hominibus inter se nulli fines*. B.F.)

CHAP. IX.

Their relations with other peoples.

Who the people are that neighbour the Hottentots is not yet known; those who venture a word about the negroes (popularly called Kafirs) depend more on hearsay than on the witness of their own eyes. Thus one of our officers would have it believed that he learned the facts I shall now mention from the most remote branch of the Hottentot family, to whose territory he had been sent with a guard of six men. These Hottentots differ widely from the rest in their ways, although they are not yet known by a special name; and they told him, says our officer, that between them and the negroes lies a broad river which they cross in boats made out of hollowed tree-trunks in order to exchange goods ¹⁵⁾. The Hottentots are separated from one another by no boundaries.

CHAP. X.

Physical Characteristics.

The human race as a whole, apart from local and national peculiarities, is provided at birth with a character proper to itself; but no less wonderful is it that every single individual of the species, down through the ages and among so many peoples, should be supplied by nature with his own personal lineaments, distinct from those of other men, expressive alike of the inner and the outer man, and constituting an indefinable difference between one individual and another. Thus the Hottentots as a race have everywhere a dark and swarthy skin, as if scorched by the sun, and are generally endowed with a dry, warm blood. Yet the faces of some show much fairer, departing from their native dusky hue. Nevertheless the blackest are the loveliest in their eyes, and they think themselves never so finely adorned as when they sprinkle divers coloured earths upon their hair, or rub them, mixed with fat, upon their faces. For in this region there is a mountain that produces colours, which if carefully worked might perhaps be profitable.

¹⁵⁾ I have been unable to identify this officer or the journey to which reference is made. It may possibly refer to Hieronymus Cruse, who with fifteen men landed at Mossel Bay in 1668 and went eastwards overland as far as the Gouritz R., bringing back reports of the Attaquas, "a tribe similar to the Cape Hottentots, but well supplied with copper and beads, *which they obtain from another nation dwelling further east and somewhat darker*" (D., Nov. 28, 1668).

forte lucrosus. Omnes quos mihi saltem videre contigit, gracili ac elaborato corpore, congruenter concisis artuum lacertis, simo (qualis *Africanorum* ac *Asiaticorum* plerisque conatus est) naso, depressa fronte, chilones, crispo, languinoso, & in varias deraso formes capillo, nudi incedunt, tectis tantum levi corio praecordiis. Feminas a maribus deformitate distinguas; Illae hoc sibi a caeteris gentibus peculiare habent, quod pleraeque earum dactyliformes, semper geminas, e pudendis propendentes appendiculas, productas scilicet *Nymphas* (ut raro in nostratibus exemplo prolongata conspicitur *clitoris*) gestent, quas tuguriola (illi suo idiomate *krallen* vocant, mulieribus fortuito referta) intransantibus magna cum gesticulatione, coriaceum elevando supparum, videndas praebent. Sic strangulatam nuper prosecavit amicus *chirurgus viraginem Hottentoticam*, in qua digitalia haec *Nympharum* tubercula, e verendis procidua, duas in una mammilla papillas, variosque in ^{v)} pancreate calculos observârat. Imo vero, adjiciebat probatissimae fidei *Gubernator*: *Et ego calculum ex medietate virilis testiculi exsectum, propter adamantinam pelluciditatem annulo insertum possedi; ast eum superstitioso & ingentem de eo amuleti vim ventilanti, Nigritarum Regi donavi.* Id vero cum *Nigritica, Aethiopica* &c. gente commune habent; quod ubi hi oleo, illi pecorum adipe corpora, sed praesertim verticem, illinant, cineribus ex concrematis herbis (quos *Bouchou* vernacule appellant) in eundem conspersis: quod officium uxores maritis praestant. Aurium lobos transversim lateque secant, aperturam bacillo, vel *tabacifuma* fistula, vel quod illis solennius, *corallinis* inauribus pandunt.

^{v)} Sic tandem omnem dubitationis aleam evaderet dictamen hoc; posse etiam in omnibus corporis partibus calculos produci. (This statement need not labour under any suspicion of doubt: stones may be produced in any part of the body.)

¹⁶⁾ On this well-known characteristic of Hottentot women, see above, p. 62.

¹⁷⁾ The word *kraal* is not of Hottentot origin, but was taken over by the Dutch from the Portuguese *curral* and applied to the settlements of the Hottentots, not to their huts.

All the Hottentots whom I at least have seen have slender and finely-knit bodies, matching the small musculature of their limbs; their noses, as with most African and Asiatic peoples, are snub, their foreheads low; they are thick-lipped, and have curly woolly hair, shaved into various patterns; they go naked except for a light covering of skins on the chest and belly.

The women may be distinguished from the men by their ugliness. And they have this peculiarity to distinguish them from other races, that most of them have dactyliform appendages, always two in number, hanging down from their pudenda. These are enlargements of the *Nymphae*¹⁶⁾, just as occasionally in our own countrywomen an elongation of the clitoris is observed. If one should happen to enter a hut full of women — the huts they call *kraals* in their idiom¹⁷⁾ — then, with much gesticulation, and raising their leathern aprons, they offer these appendages to the view. A surgeon of my acquaintance lately dissected a Hottentot woman who had been strangled¹⁸⁾. He observed these finger-shaped prolongations of the *Nymphae* falling down from the private parts, two nipples in one breast, and various stones in the pancreas. What is more, the Governor, whose word can be absolutely relied upon, added the following: "I too owned a remarkable stone. It was cut from the middle of a man's testicle, and, on account of its diamond-like brilliance I had it set in a ring. But I made a present of it to the King of the Negroes, a superstitious fellow, who displayed a profound belief in its power as an amulet."

The Hottentots have this in common with the Negro, Aethiopian, and other races, that, as the latter smear themselves with oil, they smear their bodies with animal fat, and especially their heads, sprinkling also on their heads the ash of burned herbs, which they call in the vernacular *bouchou*.¹⁹⁾ Wives perform this service for their husbands.

They cut the lobes of their ears across in a wide slit, and stretch the aperture by inserting a stick, or a tobacco-pipe, or, what is more usual with them, coral ear-rings.

¹⁶⁾ On this woman, see below, p. 126, n. 26.

¹⁹⁾ Buchu was always ground to powder, never burned.

CAP. XI.

De Vestimentis.

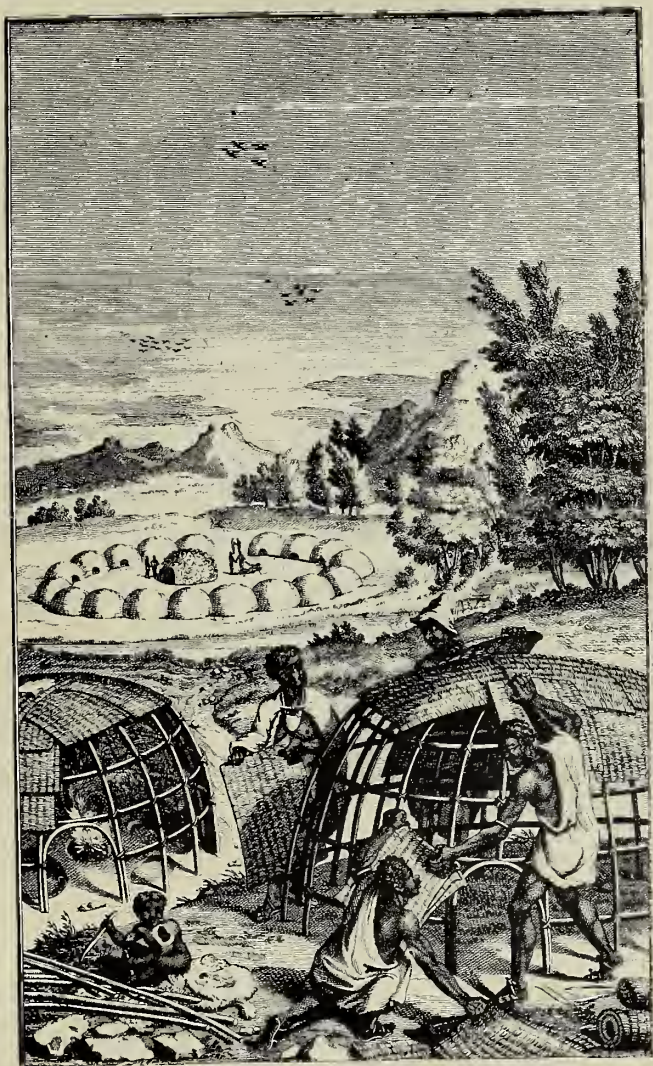
Lanae ^{a)} iis usus ac vestium ignotus, quanquam ingenti frigore saepe urantur; pellibus tamen ferinis (*bovinis ovillisque*) utuntur. Coriaceae ergo primatum aequae ac plebejorum masculae vestes unico constant, ex *bovino ovillove* corio, *colobio* (ipsis *Karos* dicto: quod & *lectuli*, & *arculae* & omnis fere suppellectilis vices supplet; eoque imbrium hiemisque caussa teguntur) ita tamen ut illi quandoque ex *pantherarum caprearumve* pellibus confectum gerant; atque ubi gregarii *vulpina*, optimates de *lutra meleve* membrana pubem velent. Neque enim ipse *Hercules*, tot gentium invictus domitor, & jam Diis ascitus, cum terras peragraret, una pelle vestitior, neque uno baculo comitator fuit.* Cadente pluvia coriaceo, stricteque aptato vertici, pileolo, in apiculum erecto, utrinque aures vestiente segmento, caput obtegunt. Collo sacculum (quo telorum cuspides plerumque condunt, aliâs *tabaco* implent) suspendunt. Brachia pone cubitos ex *elephantino* dente armillis ornant, quibus suas peras saepius alligant, caetera nudi; nisi quod aliqui quandoque ex siccatis *bovini* corii plantas tegant soleis, quas urgente necessitate coctas assatasve comedunt, ac renovant per damna famem.

Femininus vero vestitus constat ex pelliceis *ovium* scilicet, cum *amiculo*, tum *supparo*, quo verecundas in publico, sollicitae magis quam viri aperiunt** partes feminae; quae consimili *mitra* comam continuo cingunt. Arefactis ex viminibus *orbiculis* (quos aliqui exsiccata pecorum exta, alii membranaceas, ex *boum* recenti corio rotunde convolutas, ansas putant) sibi arcte super impositis, caligarum loco pedes muniunt, raro calceatae.

^{a)} Just. de Scythis ibidem. ((Justin on the Scythians.) (The reference is bk. II, chap. 2, where the following words occur: *Lanae hic usus ac vestium ignotus, quamquam continuis frigoribus urantur; pellibus tamen ferinis ac murinis utuntur.* Ten Rhyne's information about the Hottentots seems to be sometimes supplemented by references in ancient authors to various savage peoples. B.F.)

*This passage about Hercules comes, with some alterations, from Apuleius, *Apologia*, 22. (B.F.)

**This must, I feel sure, be a mistake for *operiunt*. (B.F.)



HOW THE HOTTENTOTS BUILD THEIR HUTS.
(In the background is a representation of a kraal.)
[After Kolb.]

CHAP. XI.

Clothing.

The use of woollen garments is unknown to them although they are often vexed by great cold. They use the skins of wild animals, and of oxen and sheep. The clothing of the men, therefore, whether chiefs or commoners, is exclusively of skin, and consists of a *colobium* or blanket made of the hide of ox or sheep, and called by them *karos*. This supplies the place of a bed, of a box, and of almost all furniture. With it they protect themselves from the rain or from the cold. Not but what the garment is sometimes made from panther or goat-skin; and whereas the common folk cover their loins with fox-skin, the chiefs use otter or badger. Nor indeed was Hercules himself, the invincible subjugator of so many peoples, and now enrolled among the Gods, better clad, when he sojourned on earth, than with one skin or better companioned than by one club.

When it rains they cover the head with a leather cap, closely fitting on the crown, and rising up to a peak, with flaps on both sides to cover the ears. Round the neck they hang a wallet in which they generally bestow their arrow-heads, but which they sometimes fill with tobacco. Their arms above the elbow they adorn with circlets of ivory on which they sometimes hang their wallets. For the rest they are naked, except that they sometimes protect the soles of their feet with shoes of dried ox-skin. These, under the pressure of necessity, they devour boiled or roast, sacrificing their footgear to assuage their hunger.

The clothing of the women consists of sheepskin garments, to wit, a cloak and an apron, with which they take more care to cover their private parts in public than the men do. They bind their hair all round with a band likewise made of skin. They rarely go shod, but instead they protect their ankles with rings made of dried withies lying closely one on top of the other. Some think that these rings are made of dried sheep-gut, others that they are fragments of membrane from the fresh hides of oxen twisted into a circular shape.²⁰⁾

²⁰⁾ Few of the early writers seems to have thought it necessary to investigate closely the exact nature of these rings, about which their statements vary so much that it is difficult to know what to believe. Maxwell's observation is probably the least fantastic: "The women wear skins cut in thongs about their legs to the length of a great many yards, which when dry with the inside out look so like sheep's guts that most strangers have mistaken them for such" (V.R.S. 5, 50).

Communia ornamenta sunt vel capitis, vel quod uti nos villosos tondemus canes, in plenilunares, semilunares, stellares &c. figuras radunt; frontalibus *corallia*, serratas *conchulas*, *nummos aeneos*, connodulatos *vaccarum* &c pilos &c. appendunt. Omnes fere, nisi pauperrimi, diversis ex *corallinis*, *vitreis*, *aeneisve* globulis colla circumdant monilibus; quae cum *Illustriss. Societate* opimo commutant pecore. Cubitos *elephantinis*, carpos *cupreis* plerumque brachialibus ornant.

CAP. XII.

De Aedificiis.

Praeter parva ^{b)} *tuguriola*, ^{c)} nec domus illis ulla, nec tectum aut sedes est, armenta & pecora semper pascentibus, & per incultas solitudines errare solitis. *Casulae* hae unica patent antica, earumque *tectum culmenve* & *parietes* ex foliis caulibusque *Africani Gladioli* (cujus ^{d)} *Bulbos panis* loco manducant) tam solide contexta sunt, ut a pluvia aliisque aeris injuriis protegant incolentes. *Columina*, *imbrices*, *scandulaeque* ex arborum ramusculis fabrefacta; *vestibulum* arcuatum, inflexum est. In pavimentum quisque cavernam effodit, cui, tanquam *lectulo*, *ovillam* insternit pellem maritus, simili involvendus, ita ut vel caput pedesve vel manus extra eandem non animadvertas, servans, quem naturaliter foetus in utero situm; femina ad conjugis antri limbum altius dormit. Angustissima haec *casula quindecim*, quandoque plures, hospites capit. Haecce *mapalia* in collibus campisve, vel fluminum ripis inter arbusta collocant, atque in orbem disponunt quinos vel senos distantia invicem passus; atque ita armenta, his inclusa septis, a ferarum potius quam hostium invasione defendunt: ubi vero *Praefecti* in alia commigrandi loca indicant, subjectos magnis ignium incendiis commonefaciunt; solae feminae totum peculium, omniaque utensilia (quae alias in coriaceum injecta saccum ipsaemet humeris comportant) colligunt, & cum gurgustio gestatoriis imponunt *bobus*, belligeras in sequentibus copias viris.

^{b)} Krallen vocant. (They call them kraals.)

^{c)} Justin. loco citato. (Justin as before.) (The words *nec domus* to *errare solitis* are Justin's. B.F.)

^{d)} Hottentots broot appellant nostrates.

They commonly wear ornaments on their head, or else, as we do with poodles, they shave their hair into full moons, crescent moons, or stars. On their foreheads they wear corals, serrated shells, bronze coins, and knotted hairs of cows and other animals, etc. Almost all, except the very poor, wear necklaces of coral, glass, or bronze beads. These they acquire from the Noble Company in exchange for prime cattle. On their elbows as a rule they wear ivory bracelets, on their wrists copper ones.

CHAP. XII.

Buildings.

Apart from their huts they have no houses, nor shelter, nor dwelling-place, for they are always engaged in pasturing their herds and flocks, and are accustomed to wander through uncultivated wildernesses. Their little cabins have but one opening, and their roof and gable and walls consist of the leaves and stalks of the African gladiolus, the bulbs of which they eat instead of bread (our countrymen call it Hottentot's bread). They are so closely built that they protect the dwellers from rain and other inclemencies of the weather. Poles, gutters, and shingles are made from small branches of trees. The porch is arched and winding. Each husband digs out a hollow on the floor, in which, as on a bed, he spreads a sheep-skin; he then wraps himself up in another sheep-skin so cosily that neither head, nor foot, nor hand can be seen, assuming the posture naturally taken by the child in the womb. The wife sleeps higher up on the edge of the man's hollow bed. This little cabin holds fifteen, sometimes more, lodgers. They place the huts on hill or plain, or among trees on the banks of rivers, and lay them out in a circle at a distance of five or six paces from one another. In this way they protect the cattle, which are enclosed within these bounds, from the attack rather of wild beasts than of an enemy. But when the chiefs give the signal to move to a new place, they warn their subjects by kindling huge fires. Then the women alone collect all the stock, and all the gear which at other times is cast into leathern bags and carried on their own shoulders, and place them together with the hut on pack-oxen, while the men drive away the forces of the enemy.

CAP. XIII.

De Supellectili.

Si quis in supellectilis partes inquiret, antiqua opus est mente revolvat secula; ubi ^{e)} *Thebanum Cratem* populo rem familiarem donasse, & solitudinem delegisse, arbores plurimas & frugiferas prae uno baculo sprevisse, ac villas ornatissimas una perula mutasse comperiet. Sola quippe pera & baculus olim *Cynicae*, nunc *Hottentotticae* gestamina familiae sunt; quae olim *Diogeni* & *Antistheni*, ea nunc *Hottentottis*, idem quod Imperatoribus paludamentum, quod Regibus diadema, quod Pontificibus galerum, quod lituus auguribus, sunt. Neque in hoc *Diogeni*, cum magno *Macedonum Rege* de regni veritate certabundo, *baculoque* sceptri, & *vasculo* solii vice glorianti, cedunt, semper sua sorte contenti. Utuntur tamen nonnumquam *poculis*, ex collectis in litore *conchyliis*, vel ex comestorum prius *testudinum* (quas *Sirigoos* vocitant, & in cineribus tostas edunt, ac pro *tabaci* frustulo peregrinis divendunt) operimentis: quibus si careant, cavata manu cum *Cynico* aquam hauriunt. Cibus quandoque rejecta in testa, alias sub cineribus apparant, secus cruda vorantes. Attamen peculio ditiores exquisitas ex argilla *ollas*, coquinae destinatas, alii ex arborum truncis cibarios *alveolos* oblongos conficiunt.

^{e)} Vide Apulejum in apol. pro se ipso. (See Apuleius, *Apologia*.) (Chap. 22. The whole passage from *Thebanum Cratem* to *solii vice glorianti* is taken, with slight adaptations, from this chapter of Apuleius. B.F.)

²¹⁾ Cf. de la Loubère, *Description du Royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1691), vol. ii, 109: "When we offered them brandy, they picked up as receptacle the first suitable shell they saw lying on the ground, and after blowing through it used it for drinking".

²²⁾ The art of making pottery, formerly found among all the *Hottentots*, was lost soon after the Europeans came among them. From the descriptions available of these pots, as well as from specimens found or preserved, it appears that the most common form was that of a large-bellied urn with narrow rounded base, small mouth, and two ears through which a cord was passed for purposes of suspension. Other pots of the same style were quite cylindrical, with almost flat bases, while in others the base was slightly rounded and larger than the rest of the pot.

CHAP. XIII.

Furniture.

Whoever makes enquiry into the matter of their furniture will need to ponder the examples of the ancient world, where he will find that the Theban Crates made a gift of his property to the people, and chose the wilderness, scorned his parks and orchards for a single staff, and took in exchange for his splendid villas one wallet for his back. For as in the old days the Cynics were contented merely with a wallet and a stick, so now are the Hottentots. The wallet and the stick are to the Hottentots of to-day as they were to the Cynics in antiquity, the equivalent of the General's cloak, the King's diadem, the bonnet of the high priest, and the augur's staff. Nor in this matter do they yield to Diogenes who contended with the great king of Macedon about true kingship, glorying in his staff rather than in a sceptre, in his wallet more than in a throne; for the Hottentots are always contented with their lot. They do sometimes however use cups, either shells which they have collected on the seashore²¹⁾ or the shells of tortoises which they have eaten. These they call *sirigoos*. They roast them in the ashes and eat them, and sell them to strangers for a little tobacco. But if they lack a cup, then, like the Cynics, they drink water from the hollow of their hand. Their food they prepare sometimes in a pot that has been thrown away, sometimes under the ashes; otherwise they devour it raw. But the richer among them make most beautiful clay pots for use in cooking,²²⁾ while others from the trunks of trees make oblong troughs for food.²³⁾

The pots were often ornamented round the neck with rows of dots or short broad lines, apparently produced by incising. They were unglazed and generally somewhat thick, although a few have been found rather thin and evenly built throughout. (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 313.) Grevenbroek (see below, p. 251) briefly describes their mode of manufacture.

²³⁾ The Hottentots made not only eating vessels, but also milk bowls, pails and dishes out of wood. These utensils were apparently fashioned entirely by cutting and boring, no fire or other hot object being employed. Their different shapes and mode of manufacture are summarized by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 314.

CAP. XIV.

De Indole.

Enimvero nativa barbaries & otiosa solitudo illorum animis voluptatum omnium ac vitiorum genera miserabilis virtutum inscitia subjicit: ^{f)} levitate quippe, & inconstantia, mendaciis, fraudibus, perfidia ac infamibus omnis libidinis curis turpissime exercentur, nequissime sanguinarii; nec enim imbelles satis est prostrasse, dum trucidatis multis etiamnum insultant telis & baculorum ictibus; ita durissima indole omnem eluctati humanitatem, in majorum feritate perseverant, furto deditissimi: alter enim alterius fraudulenter saepe ditatur pecore. Humaniores & mage casti fuerint *Africani* illi, qui tibi triumphale nomen imposuere, *Africane Scipio!* magnum urbanitatis & castimoniae exemplar! Praeter flagitiosi luxus veterum luxuriosam sibi cudunt inertiam: quippe ^{g)} agrum non exercent, nihil serentes, nihil metentes, ^{h)} nunquam solliciti quid esuri vel bibituri? Ast naturae vi suis sordibus addicti jacent. Quare, si quis eorum famulitio uti velit, esurientes, nunquam saturos, mandare debet, nihil promittens, quod imposterum non praestet. Unde praematura senectus libidinosa, & ut plurimum enervia corpora occupat. Verum cum negligentissimi vel potius nulli, in observanda aetate sint, de diuturnitate vitae nil certi statui poterit: quicquid enim effraenis illis demit luxuries, coacta restaurat ex egestate temperantia, vegetabilium pabulo alitis. Namque num quidam ultra seculum superstites sint? dubitant nostrates. Atque hincine antiquos vixisse diu? hallucinan-

^{f)} Uti Hornius in Arca Mosis de Africanis testatus. (As Horn declares of the Africans in his *Ark of Moses*.) (I have not been able to consult Horn's book to see how much of Ten Rhyne's description is borrowed from him. B.F.)

^{g)} Just. de iisdem ibidem. (Justin again.) (*Agrum non exercent* is an exact quotation. B.F.)

^{h)} Ut volucres coeli, Matth. 6. (Like birds of the air. Matth. 6.) (Verse 26. It is surprising to find their obedience to Christ's command numbered among their worst sins. B.F.)

CHAP. XIV.

Their Character.

Their native barbarism and idle desert life, together with a wretched ignorance of all virtues, imposes upon their minds every form of vicious pleasure. In faithlessness, inconstancy, lying, cheating, treachery, and infamous concern with every kind of lust they exercise their villainy. They are so bloody in their inclinations as to practise their cruelties even upon their vanquished enemies after their death, by striking their arrows and weapons into their dead carcasses. Thus in the hardness of their hearts, resisting every impulse of humanity, they persist in the savagery of their fore-fathers. They are so addicted to theft, that one neighbour does not stick to enrich himself by stealing the cattle of another. Those Africans who gave you your triumphal name, O Scipio Africanus, lofty exemplar of culture and sainthood, must have been more humane, more chaste, than these. And in addition to their shameful indulgence in vice, they secure for themselves a luxurious idleness; they never till the soil, they sow nothing, they reap nothing, they take no heed what they shall eat or drink. But the force of nature keeps them absolutely subject to their squalid ways. Wherefore whoever wishes to employ them as slaves must keep them hungry, never fully satisfied, speak to them with authority, and never fail to be as good as his word.

A consequence of their way of life is that premature old age seizes their lustful and usually exhausted frames. But since they are very careless, or rather utterly indifferent, about recording their age, no certain statement can be made as to their average span of life. For the exhaustion produced by their unbridled lusts is compensated by the temperance to which their indigence compels them. Their diet is a vegetable one. Our countrymen dispute as to whether some of them have not outlived the century; and some speculate as to this being the reason for the great ages of men in antiquity.

Furthermore, from their tenderest years they have such an insatiable appetite for tobacco (infants of less than 8 months old can often be seen smoking), that, when they have the chance of living for ever free from the restraint of laws and slavery, they yet prefer servitude to going without tobacco, often slaving at the nod of a master the whole day in return for a scanty portion of the weed. So extravagant and insatiable is their desire for it.

tur ¹⁾ aliqui. Hi porro *tabacum* ab unguiculis (nam octimestribus minores infantulos fumantes saepe numero videre est,) adeo enormiter appetunt, ut, ubi legibus servitioque soluti degunt perpetuo, servire tamen malint, quam *tabaco* egere, toto saepe die pro exigua *Nicotianae* herbae portione ad nutum heri famulantes, prodigi ac insatiabiles helluones. Feminae autem & parcius vivere, nec *bubulam*, nec *lac dulce*, *ovillam* quandoque gustare coguntur: hae enim adeo despectui illis sunt. Sed illorum ingeniosa gula est; quippe boni malive memoria mirabiliter pollent impavidae ad periculum mentes, suique securae, atque facto contentae suo; etiamsi extrema pauperie premantur, vel fertiliori grege abundant, semper iidem. Si tamen notorum aliquis vivat egenus, levi quadam commiserationis specie tanguntur (atque haec inter tot enormia vitia coruscat virtus) *ovemque* & *vitulum* pecoribus orbato impertiunt. In alias transire sententias, quois semel imbuti videntur, difficillimi.

^{k)} Aurum & argentum non perinde ac reliqui mortales, appetunt; quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido, ubi & usus. Imo in his plus saepe proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in aliis virtutis cognitio. Atque ita sub molliori coelo immania posse esse ingenia, patet.

^{l)} Ut Beverovicus in thesaur. sanit. &c. alique. (Beverovicus, for instance, in his *Treasury of Health*, and others.) (Joh. van Beweryck's *Wercken der Genees-Konste, bestaende in den Schat der Gesontheit*, etc. Amsterdam, 1672. On page 8 we read: In dien tijt hadden sy noch een sake, die haer mede te langer dede leven, dewelcke ons nu veel onthreekt; te weten, groote matigheyt in Spijs en Dranck, en van beyde luttel verscheydenheyt. B.F.)

^{k)} Just. de Scythis (Justin on the Scythians.) (The whole passage from *aurum* to *virtutis cognitio* is taken, with only the slightest verbal alterations, from Justin. B.F.)

²⁴⁾ This well-known figure of the early Cape settlement was a niece of the equally notorious Herry (see above, p. 17) and a sister-in-law of the Kochoqua chief Oedaso. Her native name is given as Krotoa. She was taken into the service of the van Riebeeck family soon after the Dutch settled at the Cape, and there learned to speak Dutch so well that she was used not only as informant about her people, but also as an interpreter. In 1657 she was said to be "about 15 or 16 years old". She was baptized soon after the arrival of Commander Wagenaar (1662) and married (June 5, 1664) to the explorer Pieter van Meerhoff, the Commander providing them with a bridal feast and promoting the bridegroom to the rank of surgeon. Her subsequent career disappointed all the hopes of the local officials, and is best summarized in the obituary record made in the official journal on her death, which took place the year after ten Rhyne's visit. The entry reads: "This day departed this life, a certain female Hotten-

The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva²⁴), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

Inter hoc saevum corruptumque genus plerique vafra subtilitate pollent: Sic tribus *Hottentotticis* locutus sum feminis, alteri *Aevae*, quae urbana, casta, eloquens, *Belgicam* ac *Lusitanicam* satis accurate callens linguam, plurima gentis hujus mysteria mihi aperiebat; alteri *Corneliae*, impiam cultus ignorantiam Christianismo mutavit, nostrati quodam nupta *chirurgus*, culpandam agit vitam, saepius exul; tertiae ¹⁾ *Sarae* nomen fuit, quae desperabunda laqueo vitam finivit, quod quidam ex nostratibus ganeo, ut lasciviae liberius indulgeret, connubiale vinculum pollicitatus, promissis cecidisset.

CAP. XV.

De Moribus.

^{m)} Exleges hi *Barbari* & cacoetici *Ethnici* haec tantum, in quae caecus naturae impetus eos unice impellit, imitantur: eundem in sedendo, quem matrum uteris inclusi foetus, modum tenent, in genua caput, ulnis complexum, incurvantes. Muliebris sexus contentui illis est. Mortuos triduo ejulatu deplorant, maribus feminisque defuncti casulam circumsedentibus. Cadaver effossa inhumant caverna, & lapide tegunt. Singulis libidinibus deditis, a posteriori placet Venus; femina viro altius collocata in latus, marito cubiculari incubante antro: sicque bestiarum more in mutuos ruunt amplexus.

¹⁾ De qua sup: quam amicus chirurgus dissecuerat. (Concerning whom see above. She was the one my friend the surgeon dissected.)

^{m)} Degeneres humani ritus inquit de Atlantibus Plin. lib. 5. c. 8. (Pliny in connexion with the Atlantes has described the ways of degraded humanity, bk. v. chap. 8.)

²⁵⁾ This must be the woman of whom Valentyn says (*op. cit.*, 106): "In 1705 I spoke to an old Hottentot woman named Cornelia, who after living for many years in the home of the first Cape Commander, Heer van Riebeeck, went back again to her own people, where she still is. She spoke excellent Dutch, and apart from her native dress and animal skins was so civil and well mannered as to call forth astonishment. She then appeared to me somewhere between 80 and 90 years old, and could recall all the Cape governors by name." The description Ten Rhyne gives of her is more in keeping with the known reputation of Eva than of this woman, and I am inclined to believe that he has confused the two.

²⁶⁾ It is unfortunate for Ten Rhyne's reputation that he did not consult the official records before claiming to have met this woman. She committed suicide in December, 1671, almost two

religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort²⁵); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word²⁶).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori*; the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 215-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the sermonizing reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'cabaij' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) *Three weeks later* the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

CAP. XVI.

De modo vivendi.

Natura quamvis ingluviem, desidiosa tamen egestas temperantiam edocet. Nunquam enim dubia illis mensa est; sed erutorum ⁿ⁾ paludibus tumulisve ^{o)} *gladiorum* (ex quorum foliis tecta casarum fabrefecere) ^{p)} *bulbis*, loco *panis*, utuntur, feminarum industria effossis (illae enim viris pabulum conquirunt; hi ligella servant, & armenta secus bello inservientes) nisi singularem matrimonii, puerperii &c. offerat fortuna casum, tunc *bovem* vel saltem *ovem* mactantibus, instituendo ex amicis convivio, ni se praeda cujusdam ferae dederit. Praeterea multiformium ^{q)} *sedorum* folia consumunt. *Vaccarum oviumque* pascuntur *lacte*; quod feminae statutis aurorae ^{*}) crepusculisque momentis emulgent, & eleganti artificio in *butyrum* redigunt. *Avem* namque pelle exuunt, eamque invertunt, ut plumae interna spectent, hanc fistuloso applicant bacillo, atque ita concutiunt, ut in *butyrosam* ac ^{**}) cerosam substantiam *lac* secernatur: illa caput illinunt; hanc potant, *Caseum* tamen conficere nesciunt, neque illo gaudent. Potus praeterquam aquae & lactis nullus est; nullosque nisi squamosos manducant pisces, non anguillas, non rajas &c. nec quicquid conchis nascitur ostreisve. Verum dulcissima quaedam ^{r)} *Bramae* species est

ⁿ⁾ Sunt enim, praeter indefinitas species, vel terrestres vel aquatici. (Over and above the various undefined species there is a division into terrestrial and aquatic varieties.)

^{o)} Quorum varias species delineavi alibi. (I have illustrated the various species elsewhere.)

^{p)} Belgicum vulgus vocat Hottentots broot. (Commonly called by the Dutch "Hottentot's bread".)

^{q)} Juxta Batavos wilde of Caepse vygen. (Called among the Dutch wild-figs or Cape-figs.)

^{*}*Crepusculique*. B.F.

^{**} *Serosam*. B.F.

^{r)} Nostrates vocant Hottentots vis. (Our countrymen call it Hottentot's fish.)

CHAP. XVI.

Means of Livelihood.

Nature has taught them gluttony, their slothful indigence teaches them temperance. They have no variety of food; from marshes and mounds they root up sword-lilies; with the leaves of this plant they roof their huts, the bulbs they use for bread. These are dug up by the women, for it is the women who provide food for the men; the men look after the huts and the herds, or else are occupied in war. The only interruption to this diet is in the event of a marriage or a birth, when they slaughter an ox, or at least a sheep, to provide a feast for their friends, unless some wild animal should happen to be taken. They also eat the leaves of many kinds of sedum.²⁷⁾ They drink the milk of cows and sheep. The women do the milking at fixed times of dawn and dusk, and they make it into butter by an elegant process. They skin a bird, and turn the skin inside out so that the feathers are inside; they tie this to a hollow stick and shake it so that the milk is separated into butter and whey.²⁸⁾ With the butter they smear their heads; the whey they drink. They do not know how to make cheese, nor do they like it. They drink nothing except milk and water; they eat only fish with scales, not eels, nor rays, etc., nor any sort of shellfish or oysters.²⁹⁾ But there is a sort of very sweet bream with scales in which they take great delight.

²⁷⁾ Still commonly known in S. Africa as *Hotnotsvyg* (Hottentots fig) or sour fig (= *Mesembrianthemum edule*).

²⁸⁾ A more accurate description of the butter-making process is given by Grevenbroek (see below, p. 247) and by Schreyer, who says: "Die Milch schütten sie in einen ledern inwendig rauchen Sack, in welchen unten ein Löchlein, welches sie zubinden, alsdenn nehmen ihr zwey den Milch-Sack, ieder bey einen Ende, schütten und werffen die Milch so lang in einander, biss Butter wird, als denn lassen sie die Butter-Milch durch das Löchlein abfließen, thun die Butter heraus, welche dann, wie leichtlich zuerachten, voll Haar ist, das einen davon eckelt; Ihnen aber eckelt nicht, denn sie können alles hinein essen, woran wir einen Eckel und abscheu haben" (*Reise nach dem Kaplande*, reprint 1931, 46). [They shake the milk in a skin bag with the hairy surface turned inward. At the bottom is a small hole, which they bind fast. Two of them then take the milk-sack, each at one end, and shake it about vigorously until the milk turns into butter. Then they allow the whey to flow out through the hole, and take out the butter, which, as can easily be imagined, is full of hair, so that one fights shy of it, but this they do not mind, for they eat many a thing which we avoid.] The modern Hottentots employ a somewhat similar method of making butter, which they eat either fresh or dried with various edible plants (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 237).

²⁹⁾ This certainly does not apply to the "Strandlopers", who ate all kinds of fish (see above, p. 57).

squammosa, quâ impense delectantur. *Tabacum* infantes aequae ac senes, feminae ac mares, in maximis deliciis habent, ita ut quamvis suis invidiosi, fumantem tamen fistulam sociis per vices distribuant. Crescit in his oris ^{s)} *Ari Africani radix*, tanta pollens acrimonia, ut linguam non modo adurat, sed & acerrime lancinet, venenis merito accensenda. Hanc *Hottentotti* coquendo mitigant (igne nocivum expellente *sulfur*, volatilem simul & acrem ligante *salem*) ut esui apta sit haec radix, ^{t)} *erinaceorum* (qui hic mirae effigiei sunt,) dapes. Nonedulibus, veluti arefactis & pulverulentis *pellibus* (queis pro calceis saepe diu fuere usi) quin & *excrementis*, modo non solis, vescuntur incompositi omnes ad unum, etiam non excluso *Rege*, vilissima mendicabula, ut singuli ferè *Nigritae* sunt.

CAP. XVII.

De Modo Bellandi.

Nihil est hac plaga infestius, ubi tempestatibus atrox coelum, saxeique montes incolarum ingeniis congenera sunt; unde asperae & in flagitia astutae mentes cum molli nostratum indole haud conveniunt, bellum levissima de causa suscipientes. *Arma* illis sunt praeter coriaceam *lacernam* (qua clypei loco utuntur) *arcus* & *tela*: Haec vel ^{u)} *projectoria*, queis adeo accurate ad scopum collineare sciunt, ut ad quadraginta passuum distantiam, propositum offendant punctum, quosque prono jaciunt brachio; vel *jaculatoria*, quibus bipennibus magno nisu ad artem vibratis, hostes transverberant. Ea plerumque impuro veneno hunc in modum inficiunt: viperum aliudve infestum

^{s)} Alibi a me delineati. (Illustrated by me elsewhere.)

^{t)} Quorum figuras alibi quoque dedi. (I have given drawings of these elsewhere.)

^{u)} Vulgo Assagayen.

³⁰⁾ The use of poisoned weapons is more generally associated with the Bushmen, but there is sufficient evidence that the Hottentots also knew and practised it. Ten Rhyne's description of how the snake poison is applied need not be taken at its face value. A more reliable account is given in the descriptive notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's journey to the Koperberg (1685-6). On one of the plates is figured a snake, called *hamachou* by the Hottentots (and rather doubtfully, and inaccurately, identified by Waterhouse as the mamba). The accompanying note says: "The natives set large traps for this snake and poison their arrows and assegais with its powerful venom. They first remove the skin from the upper jaw-bone, and disclose beneath it a small oblong bladder, full of little glands.... They

Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco; and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegaïs*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skillfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.³⁰) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera, op. cit.*, 129 ff.

genus serpentum, irritant, iratae bestiolae osculo teli cuspidem iterato infigunt, ligata, ne excidat telum, irata, ut toxici vim exasperent, colla praescindunt: quippe ex maxillaribus vesicis viperae eructant virus (quod etsi innocue queat deglutiri, vulnerata mortificat) nostratibus crebro lethale: quo si illorum quisquam percutiatur, affectum locum baculo feriunt diu (& hoc praesentissimum veneno infectis hic remedium est) & fortiter v) sugunt. Nostrates acuta eorem stratagemata saepius suo damno experti sunt. A w) Leonibus, hic admodum frequentibus, edocti, ut nimbose tempestate, quae nostra stlopetia corumpit, vires animumque minuit, dum illi scelera insidiis mandant, se senticetis, lentisque condentes arbustis, ex quibus tela promunt, ac hostes insequuntur, sicque superfuso imbre felicius, quam armis pugnant: verum in campestriis, coelo sereno pluries x) clamore sublato fugam petunt, dilabentes in proximas silvas tumulosve *paliuraeos*, quaerendi ut vincantur feri & silvestres homines, sagittis formidabiles. Ast si ingens eorum copia exiguum e nostratibus manipulum obruat, invicta rabie & impetu, quem pro virtute *Barbari* habent, quibus horrendum jungunt boatum, hostes invadunt. Attamen nostratium stlopetia proximare vix ausi; quamvis inter se belligerantes pressissime semet appropinquent. Itaque quod de *Insubribus Gallis* y) *Florus* reliquit praeconium, *Hottentottis* ad amussim competit. His animi ferarum (*Annaei* verba sunt) corpora plus quam humana sunt, sed experimento deprehensum est, quippe, sicut primus impetus eorum major quam virorum est, ita sequens minor quam feminarum. Montana corpora inter humentes educata nubes habent quiddam simile cum nivibus suis; quae mox caluere pugna, statim in sudorem eunt, & levi motu, quasi sole, laxantur.

v) vide infra.

w) quos Gamma vocant (which they call *gamma*.)

x) ut de Balearicis Barbaris *Florus* lib. 3. c. 8. (As *Florus*, bk. 3, chap. 8, says about the natives of the Balearic Islands.) (The passage will be found in Bk. I, chap. xliii of the Loeb edition. As usual, Ten Rhynne has pillaged it freely. The words of *Florus* are: „....clamore sublato petiverunt fuga litora, dilapsique in proximos tumulos quaerendi fuerunt ut vincerentur.” B.F.)

y) lib. 2. cap. 4. de bello Gallico. (The long passage here taken verbally, with acknowledgement, will be found in the Loeb ed., Bk. I, chap. 20. B.F.)



HOTTENTOT DANCES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

(1. Gom-Gom; 2. Rommelpot.)

[*After Kolb*]

the poison that is so often fatal to our countrymen. The poison can be swallowed without doing harm; it is deadly in a wound. If natives are ever struck by this poison, they beat the injured place for a long time with a stick and suck it vigorously. This is the most ready remedy for those infected.³¹⁾

Our countrymen have often come off with heavy losses from encounters with the clever tactics of the natives. For the natives have learned from the lions, which are here very common ³²⁾. In rainy weather, which puts our muskets out of action, and damps our strength and spirits, while they depend on cunning for their criminal success, the natives bestow themselves in thickets and tough undergrowths; then, producing their weapons, they fall upon the enemy, owing their success rather to the rain than to their arms. But in open places, and under a clear sky, they are more prone to raise a cry and take to flight; they slip off in all directions into the neighbouring woods and thorny hillocks, where they must be hunted down before they can be conquered, a formidable task with these wild, woodland creatures whose arrows are so dangerous.

But if a mighty host of them encounters a small company of our men, then they rush upon the enemy with the invincible ardour which barbarians mistake for valour, meantime shouting horribly. Yet they shrink from getting within range of the guns of our men, although when they fight among themselves they come to closest quarters. Thus the pronouncement that Florus made about the Insubrian Gauls finds a complete parallel in the Hottentots. They have the temper of wild animals (I am quoting the words of Florus) and bodies more than human. But it has been found by experience that as their ardour is at first fiercer than that of men, so it dwindles till it is feebler than that of women. The bodies of a mountain folk bred amidst moist clouds have a resemblance to their native snows: they warm at once to the battle, fall immediately into a sweat, and are dissolved by a slight effort, as if by the sun. But the flinty rocks and shuddering woods match their real fierceness. For the Hottentots hang about the mountains, scouring every part of them by night and day.

³¹⁾ A further description is given below, p. 151.

³²⁾ A more rational explanation of these tactics is given by Dapper. See above, p. 13. Ten Rhyne's account of Hottentot fighting methods is on the whole borne out by the contemporary records, cf. e.g. D. July 25, 1673; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 353 ff.

Caeterum praeduri cautes & horridae ^{a)} silvae cum genuina eorum feritate consentiunt. Ut plurimum etjam circa montes pendent *Hottentotti*, noctu aequae ac interdiu singula explorantes*. *Praefectos militum* nostro more *Capitaneos* appellant, qui quod ad vestitum, ab aliis solo nitore colobii, armis parum (nisi quod *gregarii* milites nodulatum in apice, *praefecti*, sine nodo baculum gladiatorum vice, gestent) mandato & stipatorum numero plurimum discrepant, semper enim quinque sex pluresve ex senibus satellites comites habent *Capitanei*. Quiritum more, qui consilia senibus, juvenibus arma addicebant. *Amplissimae Societatis* hostis unicus nunc est *Honnema* cum suis: a quo paullo ante nostrum adventum, jussu *Gubernatoris* plus quam mille *boum vaccarumque* praeter *ovium* &c. praedam nacti sunt nostrates, qui inde animum cepere, brevi forsitan in eosdem mittendi. Bini namque auxiliarium praefecti *Cap. Claes* & *Cap. Cuyper*, in hunc finem copias, nostris jungendas, congregabant. Hunc belli ritum tenent: Feminae *legatorum* vices obeunt, quae si capiantur, absque ullo pretio redimuntur.

CAP. XVIII.

De Modo negotiandi.

Cum eorum omnes in armentis divitiae constent, nullum, nisi de pecore cum hisce *Barbaris* commercium exercemus, idque hoc pacto. Mercaturae peritum, quandoque plures cum aliquot militibus ad eos delegat *Gubernator* nostras cum *tabaci*, vel ^{b)} *Virginiani*, sed admodum parce (nam hunc nonnisi dono petunt) vel *nigri* ac *vilioris* (quem

^{a)} ut de trucibus Thracibus idem lib. 3. cap. 4 (Florus. The reference in the Loeb ed. is Bk. I, chap. xxxviii. B.F.)

*Florus, Bk. I, 7. 15, of the Gauls who took Rome in 390 B.C. "Sex mensibus barbari—quis crederet—circa montem unum pependerunt, nec diebus modo, sed noctibus quoque omnia experti". Thus even this little detail has its source in Florus and not in observation. B.F.

^{b)} Boubaes toebak illis dicti.

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.³³⁾ They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.³⁴⁾ In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.³⁵⁾ From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.³⁶⁾ By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.³⁷⁾

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:³⁸⁾ Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

³³⁾ This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

³⁴⁾ These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

³⁵⁾ See above, p. 111.

³⁶⁾ This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

³⁷⁾ In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

³⁸⁾ Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

praestantiorē censent) *coralliorum*, ex *vitro* vel *aere* conflatorum copia, additis quibusdam *adusti potus* amphoris: (plerique enim οινόφιλοι sunt) his itaque mercibus, *boves*, *vaccas* & *oves*, aliquando *pantherarum* &c. pelles ita commutant. *Primo* magnam *tabaci* portionem, duas plerumque spithamas longam, pro permutando *bove* vel *ove* exporrigunt, semper quoddam addentes ^{e)} frustillum (secus se non obligari tenere contractum ex consuetudine censent) & saepe *adusti vini* portiunculam exposcunt. *Tum* pedetentim diminuenda *Nicotianae* herbae portio est ad summum quadruplo. In primo adventu, praesertim ad potentissimos *Essequas* (ad quos quotannis semel tantum emittit suos *Gubernator*, ut ex tanta temporis procrastinatione eo avidius *tabacum* &c. expetant: Tumque nostratibus e longinquo obviam eunt *mercatoribus*, ^{d)} opimum conferentes *vervecem*) aliqua dictae plantae donatio fieri debet, quam talis *vervecis* munere compensant: hacque una vice centum ducentosve, praeter oves, boves mutare possunt nostrates. Sed cavendum, ne illi mercimonii copiam conspiciant, inde quandoque necis periculum nostris immineret; uti ab *Essequas* Regis patre edocti fuere, qui, ni ipse senex Rex (cujus filius impraesentiarum regno potitus, patrem in amore nostri aemulatur) id impedivisset, omnes lucri causa interfecisset. Singuli album nunquam commutabunt bovem, vaccamve (quem forsā ab Aegyptiis, qui sub imagine candidae vaccae Isidem coluere, in eadem orbis parte cum hisce viventibus hausere ritum) qui illis inaestimabilis dux gregis est. Quin summum illorum votum est; ut *Magnus Capitaneus* (*Deum* indigitant) album ipsis impertiatur bovem.

Solitae, quas hi Mercuriales viatores absolvunt, stationes ab Arce sunt 1. ad ^{e)} *Equitum excubias*, ultra quas nullus nostratum fundus est. 2. ad ^{f)} *Antra*: abhinc ad primum in ^{g)} *Hottentottica Hollandia*, quae sub *Augustissimae Societatis* ditione est ultima, fluvium. 3. Trans *altum* in eadem *montem*. 4. ad ^{h)} *Flumen obscaenum*. 5. ad ⁱ⁾ *Tuguria alliaria*. 6. ad ^{k)} *Flumen butyrosum*. 7. ad ^{l)} *Fluvium ἀρελεύητρον*. 8. Sextidui itinere ab Arce ad ^{m)} *Jacobi Ragens*

-
- ^{e)} Kortom nuncupant.
 - ^{d)} Etom schaep dicunt.
 - ^{e)} de ruyterwacht.
 - ^{f)} de kuylen.
 - ^{g)} Hottentots Holland.
 - ^{h)} Kaffenhuls rivier.
 - ⁱ⁾ Knoflochs krallen.
 - ^{k)} Botter rivier.
 - ^{l)} Rivier sonder eynde.
 - ^{m)} Jacob Ragens boom.

for this except as a gift, and black and cheaper stuff, which they think better; also of glass and bronze beads; and, in addition, a few jars of brandy, for most of the natives are great drinkers. For these goods they get in exchange oxen, cows, and sheep, sometimes panther skins, etc. At first the traders display a big portion of tobacco, generally about two spans long, for the ox or sheep that is to be exchanged, always adding a little bit (this they call *kortom*), otherwise the natives do not think themselves bound to keep the contract. The natives also often demand a tot of brandy. Then the portion of tobacco must be gradually reduced to at most one quarter.

On their first arrival, especially to the powerful Essequas—the Governor sends his men to them only once a year, so that by means of the long delay they may be the more eager for their tobacco, etc., and on these occasions they come a long distance to meet our traders, bringing with them a prime wether (they call it *etom schaep*)—a portion of the tobacco must be given as a present, for which their return is the gift of the wether. On an occasion like this as many as 100 or 200 oxen, in addition to sheep, may be acquired by our men. But care must be taken not to let them see the supply of merchandise; otherwise our men would be in instant peril of death. They were taught this lesson by the brother of the King of the Essequas, who, if the old king himself had not prevented it, would have killed them all for the sake of plunder.³⁹⁾ A son of the old king is at present on the throne, and rivals his father in his love for us. None of them will ever exchange a white ox or cow, which they look upon as an invaluable leader of the herd.⁴⁰⁾ This observance they perhaps adopted from the Egyptians, who worshipped Isis in the likeness of a white cow, and who inhabit the same quarter of the globe as they do. Their first prayer is that the Great Chief (for they pray to God) should send them a white ox.

The usual halts which these disciples of Mercury make on their journeys from the Fort are: (1) de Ruyterwacht, beyond which none of our people owns a farm; (2) de Kuylen, hence to the first river in Hottentots Holland, which is the limit of the control of the Noble Company; (3) across the lofty mountain in the same; (4) to Kaffenhuls

³⁹⁾ I have been unable to find any official account of this incident.

⁴⁰⁾ No other contemporary writer, as far as I am aware, mentions this special reverence for white cattle, nor is it found confirmed in the works of later authorities.

arborem. 9. ad ⁿ⁾ *casas anserinas.* 10 ad ^{o)} *flumen latum.* 11. ad *paradisum*, locum propter amoenitatem ita appellatum: ubi ex argillaceae terrae, aquas inquinantis, copia magna boni laticis inopia est. 12. Ultimo denique ad ^{p)} *concharum sinum*, qui cxxxvi. circiter leucis a *Propugnaculo* distat.

CAP. XIX.

De modo saltandi.

Tripudiis, quae miris gesticulationibus exercent, summo-pere gaudere videntur: cum, si vel minimus in illis religionis sensus sit, illam saltationis ritu maxime peragant. Quamprimum enim luna exurgit, undique concurrunt. Mares prono corpore pedibus fortiter pulsant humum, unisono, sed vel remissione vel intentione, ejulatu boantes, vultu semper aequae gravi; ubi feminae circum-sedentes maribus plaudunt canentes. Quod si forte in nostratium aedibus *speculum* offendant, ridiculo gargalismo animum titillant, propria cum *Narcissa* delectati forma, mimicis gestibus in effusos dissolvuntur saltus, ut saepe defessi prosternantur; sicuti saepius ab *Hottentotto* juvene, in nostro hospitio famulante, conspexi.

CAP. XX.

De Relligione.

Barbara licet & plane brutalis haec *natio*, ut inter eas ^{q)} gentes, quae legem etiamsi non habent, naturae quae legis sunt, faciunt, recenseri non possit exlex. Attamen *summi* cujusdam *Entis* vel leviculam cognitionem habere videntur, saepe de *supremo* quodam *Capitaneo* memorans:

n) de ganse krallen.

o) brede rivier.

p) Mossel-baey.

q) Roman. cap. 2.

* I take this to be a mistake for Kafferkuils rivier. Mossop (V.R.S. 12, Appendix C) identifies Caffer Kuils rivier (doubtfully) with Palmiet Rivier in the Caledon district, which suits this passage. Mossop's notes to his translation of Schrijver's journey to the East (*op. cit.*) give the best information available on this whole itinerary. (B.F.)

⁴¹⁾ Most of the early writers on the Hottentots state that at new moon and at full moon the people spent the night in dancing, singing and merrymaking. None of them, however, declare explicitly that the Hottentots worshipped the moon, except for Kolb, who says that they looked on the Moon as their visible

River;* (5) to Knoflochs Krallen; (6) to Botter River; (7) to Rivier Sonder Eynde; (8) at six days' journey from the Fort, Jacob Ragen's Boom; (9) Ganse Krallen; (10) Brede River; (11) at Paradise, a place so called on account of its charm, where by reason of the prevalence of clayey soil which colours it, there is a scarcity of good water; (12) the last stage, to Mossel Bay, about 136 *leucæ* distant from the Fort.

CHAP. XIX.

Their Mode of Dancing.

They take the greatest delight in dancing, which they perform with astonishing gesticulations. If they have the least feeling for religion, it is in the observance of the dance that they most show it. As soon as the moon rises, they run together from all sides. The males, with their bodies leaning forward, stamp on the ground vigorously with their feet, lustily chanting in unison with rising and falling intensity, and with a fixed expression of seriousness on their faces; the women sit round in a circle clapping and singing.⁴¹⁾

If by chance they encounter a mirror in the houses of our countrymen, charmed like Narcissus by their own appearance, they express their amusement and delight by a ridiculous display, abandoning themselves to a wild pantomimic dance before the mirror until often they collapse with exhaustion. I have frequently observed this in the case of a Hottentot youth, a slave in the house where we lodged.

CHAP. XX.

Religion.

Though this nation is barbarous and brutish, yet, since it is numbered among those peoples who though they have not the law yet do the things that are of the law of nature, it cannot be regarded as being utterly lawless. They seem even to have some slight knowledge of a supreme being, since they often speak of a Great Chief; for when the

God, which they called *Gounja*, or "Great Chief", and who gives the words of a prayer addressed to it. Roos and Marais, in 1763, also record an invocation to the moon. The evidence is on the whole very slight, but if taken in association with the fact that the allied Bushmen unquestionably prayed to the Moon, there seems no good reason to doubt that the Hottentots also revered the earth's satellite, which figures so prominently too in their mythology. The question is discussed more fully by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 375-6.

ubi enim corrugat aeris frontem spissius coelum, ut tonitrua mugiant, vel frendentia rutilent fulmina, fulgurave praemicent, inquilunt illi, *summus ille iratus est Capitaneus*. Tum ubi quis ex illorum amicis in bellis a nostris conficitur, atque superstitum aliquis ejusdem necis intentatur minis, haec corrupto *Belgicismo* affatur: Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse grote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme. Quae ita verbotenus donantur latio: *Age! quid facitis? Belgae semper ajunt; Ego interficiam Hottentottos; Eja occidite! Ego si moriar, statim ad summum nostrum Capitaneum proficiscar. Vir ille memet albis donabit bobus*. Hi quippe sacra armentorum ornamenta illis habentur: ubi vero serenus micat aether, dicunt: Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme; h.e. *Optimus est ille Capitaneus, albis qui nos impertiet bobus*. Sed haec fortuito pronunciant rogati. Ast ordinarius eorum cultus cum omnibus fere antiquis gentilibus, quarum primi in ea sententia fuere *Aegyptii*, in hoc convenire videntur, ut ^{r)} *Solem & Lunam pro Diis suis habeant. Soli hunc cultum deferunt: s) illum orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur; quandoque ad fluvium considunt ex proxima argilla totos glomulorum cumulos conficientes, quos magno cum strepitu in aquam projectant, idque, ut illi praetexunt, in *Solis* honorem. *Lunam* vero, ut dictum saltando venerantur.*

^{r)} videatur Plato in Cratylo &c. (See Plato, *Cratylus*, etc.)

^{s)} ut Plinius lib. 5. cap. 8 de Atlantibus. (As Pliny, bk. 5, chap. 8, says about the Atlantes.) (His words are: "solem orientem occidentemque dira imprecatione contuentur". B.F.)

⁴²⁾ Similar statements are made by such reliable authorities as Valentyn and Hahn. The former speaks of the "Supreme Ruler" *Khourrou* (i.e. ! *Gurub*, the thunder) and of the "Great Chief" or "God" *Thukwa* or *Thik-qua* (i.e. *Tsui-Goab*), "who dwells on high, and to whom they showed respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning . . . saying, if it thunders, the Great God is angry with us." Almost verbally the same was said to Hahn by an old Nama man: "The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord is speaking; he is scolding them." (Quoted by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 381.)

Heaven thickens and gathers its airy brows into a frown so that the thunder peals or the red bolt falls crashing down or lightnings flash, then they say the Great Chief is angry.⁴²) Or if one of their friends is killed in battle by our men, and one of the survivors is threatened with the same death, in broken Dutch he cries out: „Dat is doet: Was makom? Duytsman altyt kallom: Icke Hottentots doot makom: Mashy doot, Icke strack nae onse groote Kapiteyn toe, die man my soon witte Boeba geme.” Which words may be thus rendered: “Come! What are you doing? Dutchmen always say: I will kill Hottentots. Well, kill! If I die, I shall go straight to our Great Chief. He will give me white oxen.” These they regard as sacred ornaments of their herds.

But when the sun shines clear, they say: “Bravas com Kapiteyn, die Kapiteyn ons van witte boeba geme.” That is, “Great is that Chief who will give us white oxen.” But these words they pronounce perhaps only when asked. Their ordinary worship seems to agree with almost all the pagans of antiquity, among whom the Egyptians were the first to adopt the opinion that the Sun and Moon are gods. To the Sun they offer this worship, that at his rising and setting they gaze on him with dreadful cursings⁴³). Sometimes they sit down by a river and from the nearest clay they make whole mounds of little balls which, with a great noise, they hurl into the water: this they allege they do in honour of the sun. The moon, as has been said, they worship by dancing.

⁴³) Hahn quotes from Saar (1671) the following statement: “One does not know what kind of religion they have, but early, when the day dawns, they assemble and take each other by the hands and dance, and call out in their language towards the heavens,” upon which he comments: “This is nothing else but the *Tsui-||goab* worship” (*Tsuni-||goam*, pp. 40, 92); adding further on (*op. cit.*, 124) “when the day dawns the Khoikhoi go and pray, with the face turned towards the East: ‘Oh, Tsu || goa, All-Father’”. In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Ten Rhyne is mistaken in regarding the “worship” he records as directed towards the sun; its object is rather *Tsui-||goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. (Cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 376 ff.)

CAP. XXI.

De Magistratu.

Quilibet casularum *viculus* suum *Praefectum*, & ille plerumque superiorem, quos uno nomine *Capitaneos* vocant, agnoscunt. *Essequas*, tamen, sed soli, *Regem* habent. Juxta horum magnatum placita gubernantur omnia; ita ut subjecti nil magni suoapte praestare ausint, ad nutum *Capitanei* semper paratissimi. Migrandum cum est, a *Praefectis* monentur; inire matrimonium cum volunt, a *Capitano* libertatem petere coguntur, summa cum observatione dicto ejus obediētes.

CAP. XXII.

De Jure gentium.

Quamvis non *Numinis* neve pudoris vinculis adstricti sua se lege exsolvant, ^{t)} sibi ipsis saepe sunt lex, ea quae fecere majores, caeco impulsu, consuetudine magistra, imitantes. Ita si gemellos pariat mater, masculum & femellam, hanc jure gentis occidunt in cunis. In eo fere tantum a *Scythis* dissimiles, quod hi in *Amazonum* regno mares interfecerint; dissimiles in eo priscis in *Africa* ^{u)} *Carthaginensibus*, qui vivos praesertim pueros, & innoxiam aetatem *Saturno* sacrificabant. Omnes vero quotquot nascuntur masculi alterutro castrantur statim a navitate testiculo; ne in frugifera terra, plures, quam alere possit, incolas recipiat; atque ut illi addunt, quo tanto velocius possint currere.

t) Roman, eod. cap.

^{u)} ut de *Scythis* Justin. (Bk. II, 4, 10: *Si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant.* Bk. II, 2, 5: *Iustitia gentis ingenius culta, non legibus.* B.F.)

⁴⁴⁾ Grevenbroek describes this custom somewhat more fully. See below, p. 181.

⁴⁵⁾ Many of the early writers on the Hottentots mention this practice, some saying that it was done in early childhood, others that it was a puberty rite, and still others that it was performed upon a youth before his marriage. Kolb actually gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Maxwell, more soberly, says: "Being inquisitive to know the truth of this I had the curiosity to search several of 'em (who will readily suffer you for a double stiver to do it), in two of which I could find but one testicle, they I suppose being married, as the rest who had two were not; which however shows the mistake of Nieuhoff and others who assert that the Hottentots cut out one of the testicles of all their male children

CHAP. XXI.

The Magistrate.

Every little collection of huts recognizes its own chief, and the chief generally recognizes a superior, and all are called by the one name Captain. The Essequas, but only they, have a king. The whole government rests on these Magistrates; the subjects venture on nothing of importance on their own initiative, but are always ready to obey the Captain's nod. When they are to move the word is given by the Chief. If they wish to enter upon matrimony, they must obtain the permission of the Chief, obeying his word with complete submission.

CHAP. XXII.

The Law of Nations.

Although, being bound neither by the bonds of God nor of shame, they absolve themselves from law, yet they are often a law to themselves, imitating by blind impulse, under the teaching of dame custom, those things which their fathers before them did. Thus, if a mother bears twins, a male and a female, by the law of their race they kill the latter in the cradle ⁴⁴). In this their only point of difference from the Scythians is that they, in the kingdom of the Amazons, killed the males; while they differ from the Carthaginians who early inhabited Africa, in that they sacrificed living boys for preference, and in their innocent childhood, to Saturn.

All the males that are born are immediately at birth deprived of one testicle, so that their barren land may not receive more inhabitants than it can nourish, and, as they add by way of further explanation, so that they may be able to run the more quickly ⁴⁵).

as soon as they are born (according to Nieuhoff) or at the age of 9 or 10 years (according to others), and that forsooth to make them the more swift and nimble; but how that fancy should come into their heads I cannot tell." (V.R. Soc. 5, 51). Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb [and also Maxwell] may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac (*op. cit.*, 333-4). This observation may well account for the early statements that the Hottentots were monorchs.

Uxoribus, quot habuere viros, tot digitorum articuli a primo minimi digiti incipiendo abscinduntur. Polygamiae, *Muhammedorum* more, indulgent. ^{u)} *Industria** gentis hujus ingeniis culta, non legibus. Sola vindicta illis est homicidii poena; ubi trucidati cujuscunque consanguinei percussorem persequuntur; neque quiescunt, nisi ultionem fecerint; repertumque itaque fustibus caedunt, telisve transverberant, occisum multis etiamnum ictibus ferientes. Caetera, sive adulterium, sive furtum, vitia non nisi talionis lege puniunt. Denique id sibi peculiare habent: si juvenis inter eos aegrotat, pinguem mactant bovem, futuri delicias convivii, atque, quae maxima opima sunt, exta cum omento aegrotantis collo appendunt, usquedum putrefacta decidunt, quae senex quisquam devorare debet. In successionebus haereditarium jus apud eos, praesertim apud *Essequas*, valet.

CAP. XXIII.

De Matrimonio.

Conjugium inire volentes suos *parentes* sollicitant, illi *Praefectos*, ut sibi integrum sit, ducere virginem; etsi nunquam, nisi bajulum, ad minimum unum, *bovem*, transportando cum suppellectili tugurio, unam alteramve lactariam *vaccam*, emulgendo *lacti*, *ovesque* decem vel duodecim, celebrandis sponsalibus repotiisve &c. possideant. Qui vero locupletiores, *Turcarum* ritu polygamiam exercent: atque iis si connubium non arriserit, nubtam

* I feel sure *industria* is a mistake for *iustitia*. Ten Rhyne in this sentence is simply transcribing Justin. See note ^{u)}, p. 142. B.F.

⁴⁶⁾ This form of mutilation has already been discussed, see above, p. 63.

⁴⁷⁾ Blood vengeance, || *Kharab*, for the death of a near relative was a sacred duty to the Hottentots, down till within fairly recent times. Killing in such a case was no crime, and neither the chief nor the council had the right to intervene and punish the avenger for his act (cf. discussion in Schapera, *op cit.*, 345-6).

⁴⁸⁾ The treatment of sick people is described more fully by Grevenbroek, see below, p. 243. A similar observation to that of Ten Rhyne was recorded in 1710 by Commissary Cnoll, who learned from some Hottentots, near the present Houw Hoek, that "in case of the very worst diseases, it is their custom to place

Their wives have one finger joint, beginning from the first of the little finger, cut off for every man they have ⁴⁶). Like the Mohammedans the Hottentots indulge in polygamy. The justice of the people is administered according to their natural impulses, not regulated by law. The only punishment is that for homicide. In this event all the relatives of the dead man pursue the slayer; they do not rest till they have exacted vengeance. When they find the guilty man, they club him to death, or transfix him with spears, and continue to inflict blows upon him when already dead. Other offences, whether adultery or theft, they punish only by the *lex talionis* ⁴⁷). Finally, they have this peculiar custom: if a young man among them falls ill, they slaughter a fat ox, which will shortly furnish a delicious feast; and round the neck of the invalid they hang the largest of the internal organs, together with the omentum, and leave them there till they fall off rotten, when they must be eaten by the old men ⁴⁸). In the matter of succession the law of inheritance prevails among them, especially among the Essequas.

CHAP. XXIII.

Marriage.

When they wish to embark on marriage they approach their parents, who then approach the chief, so that they may have full permission to marry a maiden. But they never do this unless they possess at least one draught-ox, for removing the hut with its furniture, one or two milch cows, and ten or twelve sheep to celebrate the betrothal or the bringing home of the bride, etc. But those who are richer practise polygamy in the manner of the Turks; and

a sheep on the ground, and to cut from it from time to time, in the presence of the patient, a piece of meat, which is given to the healthy persons. This meat is placed on the fire for a short time and consumed half raw, while the patient is vigorously smeared all over with the warm fat, torn out of a living sheep. In addition, the entrails of the beast are hung round the patient's neck, the treatment they believe will effect a speedy cure" (*V.R. Soc.* 5, 85). This rite (of which Ten Rhyne's description is but fragmentary), was not restricted to young men, as his statement would seem to imply, but was performed on all very sick people. His remark about the old men having to eat the rotten entrails which fell away from the neck of the patient is a ridiculous fantasy.

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Bovem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquant, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatus epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etjam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius minus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.F.

⁴⁹⁾ The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

⁵⁰⁾ The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia restituta* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

⁵¹⁾ The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203) was at least eight days.

⁵²⁾ This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcasses and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way ⁴⁹).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus ⁵⁰). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement ⁵¹). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting ⁵²).

tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

CAP. XXV.

De Artificiis.

Quot in hara gemmas, tot in hoc degenerere populo reperias artes. Cum tamen acu consutas gestent pelles, non tamen ἄτεχνοι sint oportet; acus ex ferro (fodinas quippe habent, ubi* ego harliolor, locupletissimas) vel ebore, bestiarum nervis pro *filamentis* utuntur. Tum quoniam capillos acutis artificiose radunt *cultris*; ut praeter *sartoriam* & *tonsoriam* quoque calleant v) *ferrariam* artem. Inde φιλαντίας quadam prurigine lacessiti sibi placent, rudes equidem & expertes artium, nisi sordidarum. Ita ex eorum *Capitaneis* quisquam *horologium* contemplatus, & a possessore intelligens ejus usum, ajebat: quidni & *Hottentotti* simile conficerent? quidam *instrumentum musicum*, effigie & usu *fistulae* fabricant, eodemque ludunt. Sunt etiam qui *Leucanthropian*** somniant. Hinc quoque *fistula* canendo pisces aucupari ominantur.

CAP. XXVI.

De ratione faciendi medicinam.

Si a *brutis* multos curandi modos didicerit humanum genus; w) A *canibus* ἐμετήρια ; ab x) *ibide*, *Aegyptia* volucris, *clysmata*; ab y) *hippopotamo* (in his sat frequens locis) *phlebotomiam*; a) a *capris* *dictamni*; b) ab *hirundinibus* *chelidoniae*; ab *anguibus* *feniculi*; a c) *bufonibus* *angustifoliae plantaginis*; a *mustela rutae*; a *ciconia origani*; ab *apris hederarum*; a *cervis cinarae* praestantiam; d) ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστι, τούτων διδάσκαλον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν. Quid itaque mirum, si & hae gentes tametsi brutales, quandam medendi rationem habeant? quae veluti in e) *Trojano bello Podalirius*

* *uti*. B.F.

v) *uti* Americani ex aeruginoso ferro cultros acumine nostris praeferendos conficiunt. (The Americans make out of rusty iron razors to be preferred to ours in sharpness.)

** An incorrect transliteration of the Greek *λυκανθρωπία*. B.F.

w) Teste Plinio. (See Pliny.) (Bk. viii, chap. 26, ff. B.F.)

x) Plutarch, de Brutorum solertia. (Plutarch on Intelligence in Animals.)

y) Cicero. lib. 2 de nat. Deor. (Cicero, De Natura Deorum, bk. 2, 126.)

a) testimonia ejusdam qui tamen capras Cretenses recenset. (Cicero in the same passage with reference to Cretan goats.)

b) Aelian, lib. 4 c. 49. (Aelian, bk. iv, chap. 49.)

c) Helmont, de pestis xenexto (sic).

d) Plutarch, in dial. brut. (Plutarch on Intelligence in Animals.)

e) vide Homerum. (See Homer, Iliad.)

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and for thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute⁵³). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute⁵⁴).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from boars of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

⁵³) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 35.

⁵⁴) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

atque *Machaon*, non tam in pestilentia, omnibusve morborum generibus auxilium adferunt, vulneribus praesertim mederi soliti ^{f)} *Celsi* verba sunt. *Suctio & inunctio* remedia *Hottentottorum* primaria, quin universalia sunt, *bestiarum telorumque venena* tantum formidantium: quibus si iciantur, laesam partem tamdiu *bacillo tundunt*, donec sensu privetur; tum *scarificant*, atque ita vehementer *sugunt*, ut sanguinem pene cutis sequantur. Hic tamen curandi modus (quem ad *efficacem* suam *chirurgiam* referat *Severinus*) pro *veneni* diversitate cum *pulsationis* diuturnitate, tum *suctionis* efficacia differt: quippe *Scorpio* non tam alta, quae quidem *millepeda*, toxici vestigia relinquit; ille etenim his in locis ^{g)} non ita venenatus est. Si ejus cauda paullo supra spiculum fortius comprimatur, limpidissimam guttulam adunco sensim emittit aculeo, nisi forte paullo ante ferierit, nostratibus apibus paullo nocentior, ac veneni vim tardius recuperans, quo si quis percutiatur, putat se lapide tangi. *Millipeda* vero caustica ferocia virus imprimit. De *viperis* diximus ^{h)} supra. Si *mali moris* sit *vulnus*, levissimae etjam *gangrenae* indicium *acutis telorum cuspidibus resecant*, & si late serpsit, *infectum* omne *tollunt*. *Contusionibus* omnibus *illinendo* (*ovilla* vel *bovina* adipe, nec enim aliud *unguenti* genus noverunt) tum *scarificando*, tandem fortissime *sugendo*, ut *cruor* cum *cute* solvatur, medentur. *Arthritin* eadem methodo tollunt, nisi quod *inunctum** *adipe* partem *igni* obtendant, ut, si subopimae partes sint, *pinguedinem assando*, extorqueant, ilico *suctioni* incumbentes. Praeter ea paucissima cognoscunt ex vegetabilium classe *medicamina*, sed *electa*; quae ut jam memini, nullo ab ipsis

^{f)} in Prooem. lib I. (In the preface to bk. I.)

^{g)} longe minus quam in Hispania, Italia vel Gallia. (Far less so than in Spain, Italy or France.)

^{h)} de modo bellandi. (See the chapter on *Their Mode of War*.)

* *inunctam*. B.F.

⁵⁵⁾ There is an interesting confirmation of this statement in van Riebeeck's *Dagverhaal*. On Feb. 20, 1657, van R. called at Herry's camp, where he found that "a Hottentoo had been stung by an adder in his foot, which was much swollen; he had the leg under the knee tightly bound in two places, and

the poison of wild animals or of weapons. If they are wounded they beat the injured part with a stick until it is deprived of feeling, then they scarify it, and then suck so vigorously that the skin almost comes off with the blood.⁵⁵) This method of cure, however, (which Severinus* compares with his own effective surgery) differs, according to the various poisons, both in the length of time for which the beating must be carried on and in the efficacy of the sucking. The scorpion, for instance, does not leave the traces of his poison so deep as the millipede. Indeed the scorpion in these parts is not so poisonous. If you press his tail hard a little above the sting, he gradually emits a clear little drop on the barbed end of the sting, unless he happens to have struck a little time before. He is but little more injurious than our bees at home; he is slow in recovering the force of his poison; one that is stung by him thinks that he has got a knock from a stone. But the millipede with burning ferocity presses his poison home. Of the vipers we have spoken above.

If the wound is a bad one, they cut away the slightest sign of gangrene with the sharp points of their weapons, and if it has spread far, they remove the whole of the infected part. All bruises they treat by anointing them either with sheep or cow fat, for they know no other kind of unguent, then by scarifying them, and finally by vigorous sucking, so that the blood and the skin are removed. They get rid of rheumatism in the same way, the only difference being that they expose the part anointed with fat to the fire, in order that, if the affected parts are plump, they may by roasting the flesh drive the rheumatism out. Immediately on toasting the part they fall to at the sucking.

Apart from this they know a very few vegetable remedies, but choice ones; and, as I have said, these cannot be got from them for love or money. Accordingly we must suppose those persons to be themselves deceived or to be deceiving

on the foot small incisions were made as the cuppers are accustomed to do; the foot itself was placed in hot cowdung; a man and a woman were sucking the blood from the cuts, spitting it out on the cowdung, and pulling away as heartily as a child at its mother's breast." Ten Rhyne's description of the Hottentot medical practices is on the whole borne out by Grevenbroek and other reliable authorities.

* Marcus Aurelius Severinus (1580-1656), an Italian physician, was the author of numerous works on medical subjects.

pretio redimere potui. Quapropter falluntur & fallunt, qui se a mendacibus, & quae norunt, corde prementibus *Hottentottis* multa intellexisse jactant. *Colicam aromatica* quadam *radice* confestim curant. Subigunt & *Daturae* quandam speciem, ut opinor, *Dacha* vocant illi, quam accurate pinsunt, pistam, conglobatam & exsiccatam comedunt. (ut plerique *Muhamedanorum* Amsion sive *opium*) eoque enormiter inebriantur. Recens natorum infantium *umbilicalia vasa* pressius ligant, non resecant, tandem sponte decidentia. Singula haec a quadam *Hottentottica* accepi, ab aliis praeter ea nihil rescire potens.

CAP. XXVII.

De Lingua eorundem.

Si quis eos loquentes auscultet, reviviscere *Pythagorae* aevum dixerit, in quo aves mutuo sermonis consortio polluisse fingeantur. Quippe revera ¹⁾ *stridor* non *vox* est, si *Hottentottorum* expressionem expendas: nam quodvis vocabulum stridulo linguae (sonoro applicita* palato) clangore finitur. Hinc haud perperam quis opinetur, hanc linguae ad palatum crepitationem vocalium vim exprimere, caeteras autem vocum copulas ex alto pectore producant, pleraque orbiculatis labiis pronunciantes. Adeo ut cum aliis gentibus omni orationis commercio careant; neque ex tanto temporis intervallo e nostratibus repertus sit aliquis, qui perfecte cum ipsis colloqui potuerit: nisi illi, qui dudum prope *fortalitium* vitam transegere, nostratibus se accommodent, plurima *Belgica* vocabula, sola terminatione diversa callentes. Omnia ferme finiunt in *Kom*, ut *tabaqqom*, tabacum, *kortom*, portiuncula, *horom*, audire, &c.

¹⁾ Jul. de Atlantibus Plin. ibidem.

* *Applicitae*. B.F.

⁵⁶⁾ The Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use decoctions of *Eriocephalus Umbellatus* or of the powdered and boiled root of *Royena pallens* for this purpose (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 411).

⁵⁷⁾ On *dagga* (the leaves of *leonotis leonurus*), see above, p. 40.

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselves. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.⁵⁶⁾ They employ also a certain species of *Datura*, as I think, called *dacha*.⁵⁷⁾ This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.⁵⁸⁾ These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

⁵⁸⁾ Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 264, 262).

Quae vero ipsis vernaculae sunt in radicibus non permultae, in epithetis locupletiores sunt voces: ita omnes quotquot sunt aves *Courcour* appellant; addendo V. G. *Camma Courcour*, avis aquatica, sive sit *anas*, sive *mergus*, sive *gavia*, &c. *Sickom* (corruptus *Belgicismus*, qui ipsis familiarissimus) *courcour*, avis foetus; *Grotom* (eadem corruptio) *courcour*, magna avis, qua tamen ordinario *struthiocamelum* indigitant. Quaedam etjam ex pristino cum populis commercio *Anglica* suae linguae vocabula miscent; V. G. *Canem* vocant *Doggues*.

Mere *Hottentottonica*, quae obiter occurrunt, sunt:

<i>Onkey</i> , belga.	<i>Chou</i> , aer.
<i>Gamma</i> , leo.	<i>Ecy</i> , ignis.
<i>Acqua</i> , equus.	<i>Kou</i> , tonitru.
<i>Ouka</i> , lupus.	<i>Doudou</i> , via.
<i>Nabba</i> , rhinoceros.	<i>Ey</i> , corallia ex vitro.
<i>Goedi</i> , oves.	<i>Ninimos</i> , eadem ex aere.
<i>Boeba</i> , bos vel vacca.	<i>Equa</i> , lignum.
<i>Debitja</i> , juveni.	<i>Kiny</i> , baculus belligerus.
<i>Sirigoos</i> , testudines.	<i>Sou</i> , olla.
<i>Dacha</i> , herba soporifera.	<i>Bouchou</i> , plantarum cineres.
<i>Dini</i> , mel.	

Corrupta *Belgica* indefinita sunt.

Boe maakem goet, pulvis pyrius.
Boebasibier, lac. *Karos*, colobium.
Krallen, Casae &c. innumera.

Thus all birds whatsoever are called *courcour*,⁵⁹⁾ with the addition of particular names, e.g. *camma courcour*, an aquatic bird, be it duck, or diver, or albatross, etc.; *sickom courcour*, a young bird, *sickom* being, as often with them, a corruption of a Dutch word; *grotom* (a similar corruption) *courcour*, a big bird, by which, however, they generally mean the ostrich. They also mingle a few English terms in their language from their former dealings with that people, e.g. the word *doggues* for dog.

Pure Hottentot words in general use are:—⁶⁰⁾

<i>Onkey</i> , Dutchman.	<i>chou</i> , air.
<i>gamma</i> , lion.	<i>Ecy</i> , fire.
<i>acqua</i> , horse.	<i>kou</i> , thunder.
<i>ouka</i> , wolf.	<i>doudou</i> , road.
<i>nabba</i> , rhinoceros.	<i>ey</i> , glass bead.
<i>goedi</i> , sheep.	<i>ninimos</i> , bronze bead.
<i>boeba</i> , ox or cow.	<i>equa</i> , wood.
<i>debitja</i> , steers.	<i>kiny</i> , war club.
<i>sirigoos</i> , tortoises.	<i>sou</i> , pot.
<i>dacha</i> , soporific herb.	<i>bouchou</i> , plant ashes.
<i>dini</i> , honey.	

Corrupt Dutch words are numberless:

Boe maakem goet, gunpowder; *boebasibier*, milk; *karos*, a wrap; *krallen*, huts; and others too numerous to mention.

⁵⁹⁾ Both Wreede (ca. 1663) and Kolb (1719), in their vocabularies of the Cape Hottentot language, give a variety of different names in use for different species of birds (these vocabularies are reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 215ff.), so that Ten Rhyne's observation is obviously incorrect.

⁶⁰⁾ Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings. It is of interest to compare some of his renderings with those given for the same words by Wreede and Kolb for the Cape Hottentot language, and by Meinhof for Korana, which is a closely-allied language.

	<i>Wreede.</i>	<i>Kolb.</i>	<i>Meinhof.</i>
lion	TGamma	Chamma	xammi
horse	hacqua	hacqua	hab (pl. haku)
wolf (hyena)	Ouck'ha	touqva	hukhab
rhinoceros	tnabba	nabba	! nabas
sheep	goudie	ghoudie	gus
ox, cow	dwiessa	bubaa	gomab, -s
thunder	quô	quaouw	! urub
wood	equa	hequa	—
honey	—	—	danis
war club, stick	—	Kirri	—
pot	—	—	sub

Numerandi vocabula.

Cui, unus. *Tem*, duo. *Nona*, tria. *Acka*, quatuor. *Corro*, quinque. *Guichi*, sex, &c.

Quae aliorum additamentis multiplicant semper easdem, alterius copula, voces usurpantes: quas si ab illis nostratium quis intelligat, calamo non posse describi dixerit, adeo mirabilis eorum pronuntiatio est.

Auctore.

WILHELMO TEN RHYNE.

Numerals.

Cui, one; *tem*, two; *nona*, three; *acka*, four; *corro*, five; *guichi*, six, etc.⁶¹)

They multiply these by the addition of others, always employing the same words, but linked to another. But if any of our countrymen understands these words when the Hottentots use them, he is certain to say that they cannot be recorded by the pen, so extraordinary is their pronunciation.

Written by

WILLIAM TEN RHYNE.

⁶¹) This list may be compared with the following:—

Witsen (1691) (Cape Hots.). 1. K'qui. 2. K'kam. 3. K'ouna.
4. Hacka. 5. Kro. 6. Nanni. 10. Guissi.

Kolb. (1719) (Cape Hots.). 1. G'kui. 2. K'kam. 3. K'ouna.
4. Hakka. 5. Koro. 6. Nanni. 10. Gyssi.

Hahn (1875) (Nama). 1. | kui. 2. | kam. 3. ! nona. 4. haga.
5. gore. 6. ! nani. 10. disi.

Meinhof (1930) (Korana). 1. | ui. 2. | am. 3. ! nona. 4. haka.
5. goro. 6. ! nani. 10. tjisi.

Ten Rhyne's word for "six", *guichi*, obviously should be for "ten"; otherwise his list agrees fairly well with the rest.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HOTTENTOTS

N. N. GRAEVENBROECKII

elegans & accurata

GENTIS AFRICANAE

circa

PROMONTORIUM CAPITIS BONAE SPEI

VULGO HOTTENTOTTEN NUNCUPATAE

Descriptio Epistolaris

Anno

MDCLXXXV.

AN ELEGANT AND ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF

THE AFRICAN RACE

Living Round

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

COMMONLY CALLED HOTTENTOTS

From a Letter written by

J. G. GREVENBROEK

IN THE YEAR

1695.

(Translated by B. Farrington.)

FOREWORD.

The manuscript account of the Cape and its native peoples, the original text of which is here for the first time printed, was purchased at the sale of the Sunderland library in 1882 by the late Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, who subsequently presented it to the South African Public Library, Cape Town, where it now is. A small quarto volume of 120 pages, neatly bound in vellum, it is evidently the copy of a letter written to an (unnamed) clergyman in Holland, and is dated 1695. How it got into the Sunderland library is not known.

Its author, Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (as he usually signs himself), was born in Holland about 1644. Of his early life the only facts he reveals are that he visited Italy in 1673, and had also been to Madrid. There is, however, good reason to believe that he was employed at home for some time as a clerical assistant in the Rotterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company. In June 1684 he sailed to the Cape in the Company's service, and in October, soon after his arrival, he was promoted to be Secretary of the local Council of Policy. He seems to have accompanied the Commissioner Ryklof van Goens to India almost immediately afterwards, and did not take up his regular duties until after his return (1686). A large number of the official records for the next few years have preserved for us his beautifully clear handwriting and decorative signature. He served as Secretary until June, 1694, when he resigned voluntarily, and went to live at Stellenbosch as a free burgher. Adam Tas, in his famous Diary (1705-6), on several occasions mentions Grevenbroek, then an elder of the Church, but does not tell us much about him. It is evident, though, from stray remarks in this book, that Grevenbroek was on the whole sympathetic with the movement of the discontented farmers against Governor Adriaan van der Stel, although his name is not attached to their memorandum of complaints addressed to the Chamber of Seventeen.

His will, signed at Welmoed, Eerste River, on February 3, 1714, when in his seventieth year, shows him to have been a careful man of business and a grateful friend. Apparently he never married, for there is no reference in it to wife or family. The bulk of his estate, after various legacies to friends and acquaintances in both Holland and the Cape, is left to a certain Isak Schepers. The date of

his death is not known, but it must have occurred some time before 1726, when his will was filed with the Cape Orphan Chamber (*Cape Archives O.C. 4 No. 14*). In it he directed that his body should be buried not in church or churchyard, but in the courtyard of the house where he died; and he chose as his own epitaph the words: "Hic exspectat resurrectionem J. G. de Grevenbroek C. F."

That Grevenbroek had been engaged in compiling an account of the Cape and the Hottentots seems to have been fairly well known during his lifetime. The earliest reference to his work appears in Peter Kolb's *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (Nürnberg, 1719), the most detailed and serviceable treatise we have on the early Cape Hottentots. In discussing the Hottentot customs relating to the Mantis, Kolb says: "For long I did not know what to call this insect, as I had never seen it, nor could I believe that they worshipped such an insignificant creature, although I had occasionally heard this stated. At last Mr. Johann Wilhelm de Grevenbroek, a man of remarkable industry, understanding and knowledge, who after serving several renowned ambassadors had finally come here as Political Secretary to the Illustrious Company, taught me from the notes, which he had likewise made concerning the Hottentots during his residence here, that this insect was really a sort of beetle" (p. 416). There is no other mention of Grevenbroek in the whole of Kolb's work.

Valentyn's *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop* (Amsterdam, 1726) tells us more about these "notes" of Grevenbroek's. Writing of the Hottentots, Valentyn says: "I have seen a Latin treatise by Mr. Secretary Grevenbroek, who had taken the trouble to write an elaborate and able account not only of their manners and customs, but also of their language; this treatise he allowed me to read in Stellenbosch in 1705" (p. 106). He adds that from it he learned about the dialectical differences of the local native languages as illustrated by the forms of the numerals; and also extracted a small Latin-Hottentot-Dutch vocabulary, which he then prints (pp. 106-8).

There is no further mention of Grevenbroek's work until 1763, when in his posthumous *Journal historique du Voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance* the Abbé de la Caille, who was at the Cape from 1751 to 1753, violently attacked Kolb as unreliable and inaccurate, and went on to assert that everything Kolb had written about the Hottentots was derived from Grevenbroek. "M. Grevenbroek, . . . an extraordinary man," says de la Caille, "had made some researches into the manners and customs of the Hottentots. After his death his papers were sent to Kolb, who pieced them together without any skill or judgement. This I was

told by the most intelligent local residents, especially the Governor, M. Grand-Pré and M. Dessin" (pp. 156-57). And again: "All that Kolb says in the rest of his book [i.e. concerning the Hottentots] is taken from the memoirs of a certain Grevenbroek, Secretary of the Council at the Cape, who had put into writing what the Hottentots whom he had seen had replied to his questions" (p. 322).

The story of this alleged plagiarism is told at greater length by de la Caille's editor. Kolb, it is well known, had been sent to the Cape in 1705 to make astronomical observations, but by his incompetence soon lost the favour of his patrons. He lived for a while without any employment, and was then installed as Secretary to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch; but after a couple of years he was superseded, and returned to Germany in 1713. "Kolb's mission being almost over," says de la Caille's editor, "he discovered that during his stay at the Cape he had done nothing but drink and smoke. Not knowing what to report in Europe or to show as the fruits of his expedition, he applied to some residents of the Cape, who took advantage of the occasion to serve their own ends as well as his. These men had tried several times, always without success, to convey to Holland their complaints against the maladministration of the Colony. The memoirs on this subject which they had sent to the Estates-General in Holland had all been intercepted, and the Colony continued to groan beneath its oppression. They now conceived the idea of dictating to Kolb a description of the Cape; and in order to make it seem more interesting they collected all the current popular beliefs and palmed them off on to Kolb, who did not know the country, together with numerous marvellous details derived from their imagination. These oracles of Kolb's also lifted much of the matter in Grevenbroek's compilation, to which reference has already been made; nor did they ignore themselves in the course of the work, into which they inserted their observations on the government of the Cape, exposing all its iniquities and suggesting the means of remedy. These revelations, coming from a stranger, could be published without compromising anyone. Kolb, delighted at the service thus rendered to him, left the Cape with his work. He caused it to be printed in Holland, *as a translation from the German*. The book was read with astonishing avidity, and the edition soon sold out. The Dutch Government, roused by what was said in it concerning the state of affairs at the Cape, made inquiries which confirmed Kolb's report. The principal officers of the settlement were recalled, and proceedings taken against them on their return," etc. (pp. 317-19).

A somewhat similar story is told in greater detail by Mentzel in his *Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung* (Glogau, 1785-7). After discussing Kolb's career at the Cape, he goes on to say: "We can note that Kolbe had very little time during his short period of office as Interim Secretary [at Stellenbosch] to travel over the country and to make topographical observations. He had certainly gathered much information and heard many stories from local inhabitants during his eight years' residence at the Cape, but without investigating whether these were authentic or legendary. Unexpectedly, Kolbe came into possession of a store of remarkable information that proved both interesting and useful. Herr Grevenbroek, a former Secretary to the Council of Justice, had made various notes about the Hottentots and other Cape peculiarities. Had he lived longer he would have undoubtedly studied more closely the subject-matter of his notes and arranged everything in proper order. On his death his notes were handed over to Kolbe, who thus acquired a rich collection of material, but bundled together higgledy-piggledy" (Mandelbrote's translation, V.R. Soc., 4, p. 19).

I have thought it necessary to give these statements in full, as they have an important bearing upon the history of Grevenbroek's MSS. Let us first examine the charges against Kolb. The story consists of two parts: (a) that he was the medium through which the discontented farmers of the Cape brought their grievances against the Governor to the notice of the Dutch Government; (b) that Grevenbroek's MSS found their way into the hands of Kolb and were used by him as the basis of his description of the Hottentots. The first may at once be dismissed. The only possible event to which it could refer is the movement of the colonists against Adriaan van der Stel. The latter in consequence of a memorandum conveyed to Holland in 1706 by four of the disaffected burghers was recalled the following year. The whole affair was over within two years of Kolb's arrival at the Cape; and he stayed there for another six years. That his book, which in its Dutch translation (it was originally written in German) was not published until 1727, could have been instrumental in bringing about the recall of van der Stel twenty years previously is utterly ridiculous.

This does not of course do away with the charge that Kolb based his account of the Hottentots on Grevenbroek's manuscript. As we have seen, he himself admits having read it; and there is other evidence to suggest that he used it. His vocabulary of Hottentot words is almost identical with that quoted by Valentyn from Grevenbroek,

and in all probability therefore was also derived from the same source; especially as Kolb says that he made some attempts to learn the Hottentot language and could never succeed. Moreover some of the statements he makes about Hottentot custom and belief are also found in Grevenbroek's account printed below, and nowhere else in contemporary descriptions of the Hottentots. The coincidences are occasionally too striking to be entirely due to independent observation.

The difficulty about accepting in its entirety the story told by de la Caille and Mentzel is that Grevenbroek was still alive when Kolb left the Cape. The latter can therefore hardly be held to have taken away with him the notes found in the dead Grevenbroek's effects. There is on the other hand no reason why Kolb could not during Grevenbroek's lifetime have borrowed substantially from the latter's notes on the Hottentots, or even have received them all from him. We know from Valentyn that Grevenbroek allowed others to draw upon his manuscript, and we also know that both Grevenbroek and Kolb were living at Stellenbosch from 1710 to 1712. Certainly some suggestion of this sort is necessary to account for the total disappearance of Grevenbroek's later manuscript. It is evident from what both Kolb and Valentyn say that between 1705 and 1713 Grevenbroek was in possession of a detailed study of the Hottentots compiled by himself. The account here published is dated 1695, and appears to have been sent as a letter to a Dutch clergyman, who must have had it copied, for the manuscript is not in Grevenbroek's writing. That it cannot be the manuscript to which Kolb and Valentyn refer is evident not only from the date it bears, but also from the fact that it does not contain the long vocabulary on which Valentyn drew.

Now Grevenbroek himself hints at the end of this letter to a future study of the same sort in more detail. "I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence, fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus." Is it going too far to suggest that Grevenbroek may many years later have seen in Kolb the new Lysippus, and willingly handed over to him the additional notes he had meanwhile compiled? It may reasonably be objected that if Kolb had thus acquired Grevenbroek's material he would have made full acknowledgment to the latter. It is on the other hand equally conceivable, though far less creditable to Kolb, that he may have deliberately suppressed this indebtedness in order to enhance his own reputation. That he was not too

scrupulous about carrying out his obligations is evident enough from his career at the Cape.

All this, however, is pure speculation. The established facts are that in 1705 and later Grevenbroek had in his possession an account of the Hottentots written by himself; that this was never published under his name, and the manuscript seems to have disappeared; and that there is every reason to believe that Kolb actually made much fuller use of it than is suggested by the quotation given above in which he refers to Grevenbroek.

The manuscript here printed must be looked upon therefore as a preliminary draft of the presumably more detailed and now lost account. It is a very badly arranged piece of work, passing confusedly from one topic to another, with frequent irrelevancies and repetitions. Despite its title it is by no means devoted exclusively to the Hottentots. Towards the end there is a eulogistic account of the Cape's natural beauty and fruitfulness which would do credit to any modern publicity agent; the adventures of the ill-fated Guillaume Chenut and the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686) take up far too much space; and running right through the whole is a violent denunciation of the European colonists coming very oddly from one who ten years later was held to be among the champions of their cause. The ethnographical information that makes up the rest is by no means all based on original research. A good deal of it, referring to the AmaXhosa, is taken directly from the accounts of the "Stavenisse" survivors, which were copied into the official records of the Cape by Grevenbroek himself in his capacity as Secretary of the Council. He almost certainly made notes for his own use of their valuable and accurate information about the manners and customs of the natives, for there is a very close correspondence between his statements and the official records, although the literary embellishments in which he indulged compare most unfavourably with the simple narratives of the sailors. His account of the adventures undergone by the latter is much less accurate, and suggests that here he was writing from memory alone. In describing native customs, he does not always distinguish clearly between the AmaXhosa and the Hottentots, whom he obviously regarded as people of the same stock; but a comparison of his statements with the relevant "Stavenisse" records makes it possible to disentangle his own contributions from those of the shipwrecked crew. The information relating to the Cape Hottentots alone does not make up more than about a third of the whole. But it is well worth having, particularly for the descriptions of various social customs, mode of life and warfare, ceremonial

practices and treatment of disease. The details Grevenbroek gives in this connexion are often new and sometimes valuable, and show that he had managed to learn much about the Hottentots. Nevertheless, the reputation he has acquired as an outstanding ethnographical authority can only be based on the supposition that his later account formed the basis of Kolb's book. The present account, important as it is in some respects, is inferior both in quality and content not only to that of Kolb but also to that of Schreyer, and in arrangement to those of Dapper and Ten Rhyne.

I. S.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

The Latin text of Grevenbroek's letter on the Hottentots is now transcribed and printed for the first time. It is a well-written MS in a large hand and rarely offers any difficulty to the reader. I have slightly modernized the punctuation. I have curbed the lavish and erratic use of capitals. I have silently corrected many small slips. In other cases I have preferred to reveal my corrections, using round brackets to enclose letters added by me, and square brackets to indicate letters I would have removed. Very rarely I have had recourse to a footnote in elucidation of the text. But the text still retains many faults and obscurities most of which are probably to be ascribed to Grevenbroek himself and not to the unknown person who made the copy of it we possess.

For the Latin of Grevenbroek is not a satisfactory medium. It is dictionary Latin, laboriously compiled by a man of poor taste and inaccurate though very likely wide scholarship. It is full of tags from Virgil, Horace, Lucretius and others. The alleged elegance of the Latinity consists largely of curiosities of diction culled from Plautus, Cato, the Natural History of Pliny, Varro on the Latin Language and any other available store-house of archaic and unfamiliar words. A peculiarly distressing feature of the style is the accumulation of masses of synonyms which add nothing to the narrative but confusion. Furthermore the sentences are often shapeless and endless, lumbering along from clause to clause till they seem to drop from exhaustion rather than to reach any intended goal.

In my translation I have permitted myself a few archaisms in order to keep some of the flavour of the original. I have kept very close to the sense of the Latin, as it was essential to lose nothing of the information that may be extracted from his pages. But I have also laboured to make my version readable, and if I have succeeded in this Grevenbroek owes me a debt that nobody will ever owe to Grevenbroek.

At the same time I should like to say that to translate Grevenbroek has been a labour of love. In spite of his infelicitous, pedantic, helpless style, the man reveals so much both of his own curious personality and of the Cape society of his day, that a readable Grevenbroek, if I could make it, seemed to me a possession that many beside the anthropologist would be glad to have. For Grevenbroek is

a character. If he repels by his perpetual insistence on his own unmerited and unspecified grievances, he attracts by his honest indignation at the abuses of the time and by his charming, if absurdly expressed, enthusiasm for the Cape and its native inhabitants. He really had something to say that lay very close to his heart; and for that reason it has been a delight to disencumber his thought from the clumsy toils of his laborious Latin eloquence.

One other translation of Grevenbroek exists, that made in Dutch by Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt and printed in the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Tydschrift* for January and February 1886. This was reprinted in 1932 in vol. xxxvi of the publications of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*, uitgegeven door Dr. E. C. Godée-Molsbergen. Vierde Deel). Dr. van Oordt omitted some few portions of the original, notably a page or two dealing with initiation ceremonies. This edition then comprises not only the first English translation, but the first complete translation in any language, as well as the first transcription and publication of the Latin text.

My version was made in complete independence of the Dutch. On comparing them subsequently I was glad to find how closely Dr. van Oordt and I agreed in our general interpretation of the sense of this difficult author. Two sentences of mine embody corrections which the reading of his version led me to adopt. I have also acknowledged suggestions of Dr. van Oordt's once or twice in footnotes.

B. F.

Admodum Rev^{do}. Doctissimoque Viro

N.N. S.P.D.

Voluptatem, quam ex litteris meis te sensisse testaris, eandem et forte majorem, ex tuis in me propensae voluntatis testibus, venustate et prudentiâ plenis, quibus me dignatus percepi: quarum lectione et delectatione satiari nequeo, gratiasque penitissimo pectore Superis ago, quorum benignitate, in experimentum forsân, peculiolum aliquod mihi concessum, ut pietatis meae erga te specimen videant. Quaeso igitur etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

(N.B. *Hic Pagina una ac altera, Domestica quaedam spectantia, continentes, praeteritae.*)

Demiror Famam, nunquam ad liquidum perductam, tantas acqui(s)visse eundo vires, fictique adeo tenacem, ut illa quae veritati affinia de Afris nostris divulgantur, etiam apud vos percrebuerint; gentem hanc uno animo, in diem et in commune, ad naturae legem congruenter convenientem viventem, in quodcunque genus hominum hospitalem, candidam, fidam, veritatis, aequitatisque amantem, nec ab omni Numinis alicujus cultu funditus expertem, et singularem illi inesse ad omnia naturalis ingenii dexteritatem, ut est hominum captus, capacique ad praecepta animo inveni, qui legum severitate, et judiciorum metu se alligari, quondam praejudiciis juvenilibus abrepta, temeraria mea Musa cecinit: *Quamvis sint homines, hominis vix nomine digni* etc. Cujus delicti veniam petens, hic palinodiam cano, dum proh dedecus! nostratium vitiis, moris patrii oblitorum, in deterius mutatos, sui celantes, tectos et a nobis abstrusos explore perspicio et cognosco, a quibus blasphemias, perjuriam, discordiam, simultates, crapulam, technas, latrocinia, furta, ingratitude, effraenatam alieni appetentiam ignota quondam eis Facinora, aliaque crimina non levis notae, et auri sacram famem traxit; en praeclaros Christianarum vittarum

To the right reverend and learned gentleman

Greetings.

You say that you receive great pleasure from my letters; I feel the same and perhaps more from the expressions of your goodwill towards me, so full of charm and thought, with which you honour me. I can never read nor relish them enough, and from the bottom of my heart I thank the Powers above through whose kindness there has been granted me, perhaps to test me, some little share of this world's goods so that they may see a proof of my pious devotion to you. I beg therefore etc. etc. etc. [N.B. Here a page or two touching on private matters has been omitted.]

I am astonished that Rumour, never bearing a clear report, should have acquired such strength in her course and proved so tenacious of falsehood that those half-truths that are spread abroad about our Africans should have reached even your ears. I found this people with one accord in their general daily life living in harmony with nature's law, hospitable to every race of men, open, dependable, lovers of truth and justice, not utterly unacquainted with the worship of some God, endowed, within their own limits, with a rare nimbleness of mother wit, and having minds receptive of instruction.

My rash Muse was swept away by youthful prejudices when I formerly sang:

Though men, they scarce deserve the name of man.¹⁾

And for this fault I now seek pardon and sing a palinode; for, alas for the disgrace! it is through the faults of our countrymen, who have forgotten their ancestral ways, as I now plainly see and recognize, that the natives have been changed for the worse, and have become secretive, suspicious and shut away from us. From us they have learned blasphemy, perjury, strife, quarrelling, drunkenness, trickery, brigandage, theft, ingratitude, unbridled lust for for what is not one's own, misdeeds unknown to them before, and, among other crimes of deepest die, the accursed lust of gold. Behold the glorious priests of the Christian

¹⁾ This would seem to suggest an earlier account of the Hottentots by Grevenbroek, of which, however, I have been unable to find any record.

Mystas! en Divinae Veritatis assertores strenuos, die et iudicio novissimo ab his Barbaris media amphitheatris scrobe ustulandi. Haec est futuri summa favilla mali!*

Caloris, frigoris, inediae, omniumque laborum supra fidem patientissimi, injuriarumque minime, quippe in vindictam proni, adeo ut pedes, culicesque pungentes, non alia de causa, ori ingestos, quam ut eos dentibus, jure talionis, insecant, molant, conterant, expuantque; nihilque sibi gratius, quam injuriam injuriae contribuere palam jactitent, nec facile quiescant, nisi animum cruciatu inimicorum exsaturaverint. Aspectu rancidi, cultu feri, vita agrestes, bellicosi tamen et insuetae servitutis, aëripedes agilitate, pernecitatem nonnumquam equorum, et Cretenses nandi facilitate, praevertentes.

Candore animi multis nostratium superiores sunt, corporis vero nonnullis, et arbitrato meo, forte omnibus albore pares, si nit[ilori] studerent, nunc adipe et radiis solaribus usti, asperoque faciei pigmento infuscantur, suntque coloris ravidus adustioris, ut plurimum argutis vivacissimisque ocellis, albugine dentibusque nive candidioribus, pupilla Colosandarachino,** brevibus pedibus, gypsatisque manibus, graciles silonesque fere omnes. Qui Promontorio nostro

* This is an adaptation of a line of Propertius (Elegies I. ix. 18): haec est venturi prima favilla mali. The syntax of this paragraph is greatly confused. I have failed to include in my version any equivalent for the words: qui legum severitate et iudiciorum metu se alligari.

** Van Oordt translates this word by *bruinglele*. It is unknown to me. B.F.

²) This description probably applies to the AmaXhosa, about whom Grevenbroek received a good deal of information from the survivors of the wrecked "Stavenisse" (1686).

³) I have found no mention of this remarkable specimen of humanity in any of the contemporary records!

mysteries! Behold the strenuous champions of Divine Truth! On the last day at the last judgment they shall be burned in the middle ditch of the amphitheatre by these barbarians. "This is the final spark of the woe to come."

They are beyond belief patient of heat, cold, fasting, and every kind of toil, but utterly impatient of injury, and prone to vengeance. Wherefore if a louse or a gnat sting them they put it into their mouth for no other reason than that by the law of retaliation they may chop, grind, and crush it with their teeth, and spit it out. Nothing pleases them more, they openly boast, than to return evil for evil, nor can they easily be at rest till they have satisfied their minds by the torture of their enemies. They are offensive to look at, savage in their dress, wild in their mode of life, but warlike and unaccustomed to slavery. They are as swift as the wind, often outstripping horses in fleetness of foot and Cretans in swimming.

In whiteness of soul they are superior to many of our countrymen, and in whiteness of body they are equal to some, and, in my judgment, would perhaps be so to all, if they cared for cleanliness. But as things are, what with fat and the scorching heat of the sun and the sharp pigment they put on their faces, they have grown dark and are of a swarthy brown colour. They have lively bright eyes, and the whites of their eyes and their teeth are fairer than snow. The pupils of the eyes are of a shade between brown and yellow. They have small feet and feminine hands; they are lightly built, and almost all snub-nosed. Those who live near our Cape are of middle height; but the inhabitants of the remote parts of this region are shaggy fellows, with taller and sturdier frames, and with frizzy hair.²⁾ Among them has been seen a king, Longurio, twelve foot high, with hair all over his body thicker than a water spaniel's.³⁾ To these latter the shortness of our countrymen is a matter of contempt. Sometimes they are bald in front; sometimes they wear beard and moustache and shave their heads. The women have large breasts. With the rarest exceptions I never saw one among them that was marked from birth, fat, hunch-backed, squinting, or that had varicose veins, a swollen paunch, flat feet or spindle-shanks, or one that went bow-legged or knock-kneed or had misshapen limbs of any kind, nor did I ever see one blind of an eye nor halt in his speech, nor

proximi, mediae sunt staturae, qui vero abdita regionis inhabitant, villosi, procerioris robustiorisque corporis, et cirrati sunt: visusque inter eos Longurio duodecempeda regulus, toto corpore hirsutus, cane aquatrio pilosior, brevitassue illis nostratium contemptui est: subinde recalvastri, et nonnunquam barbam cum mystace alunt, caputque rasitant: mulieres mammosae. Insignitum aut obesum, gibbosum, paetum, varicem, ventricosum, pansam, loripedem, valgum, anuem (sic), compernem, aut distortis membris inter ipsos non vidi, praeter unum alterumve, luscum, exomphalum, atypum, nasutilumque, et si quis claudicat, aut manu, brachio, oculo aliove membro mutilus, id hosti, ferae, aut casui imputet, non matri, quae minus, quam alibi mulieres, animi commotionibus affectionibusque obnoxia, salubri corpore, et justa membrorum eurythmiâ, robustisque artibus conspicuos liberos parit, quos sola decrepita aetas dissolvit.

Nostrates procul hinc profecti, mercaturam facturi, in gentem, cui non cornea fibra est,* quae nostris tum forte comptis rasisque, aut imberbibus, merces suas distrahendae explicantibus indicantibusque, joculari convicio exprobrat, maritos suos vocarent, si secum pacisci vellent, cum in(s)titricibus sibi nullum negotium. Talia Barbari!

Auditu sunt solerti, naribus acutis, visuque, ut dixi, acerrimo, adeo ut melli insidiaturi, apiculam stupenda indagine, volantem ad favum usque in alta rupe, cava arbore aut crypta absconditum, oculis sequantur deregantque: sicubi, interveniente dumeto, sylva, fluvio aliove obstaculo remoraque, apicula aciem oculorum insequentis effugit, cursum indigator sistens, faciem soli occiduo obvertit, advolantemque praecedentis tramite apiculam omni cura investigat, quâ duce in praedam petitam incidat.

Porro observavi Afros nostros aviculae cujusdam cantu, volatuque mellis amicissimae, ad alveare perducere; ferturque alias aviculas, locis leonibus ferisque insessis occinere; alias

* The phrase is from Persius, Sat. I. 47.

4) I have been unable to find any official record of this incident.

5) Hahn, 200 years later, gives an interesting corroboration of this statement. "When a bee passes a Bushman or Namaqua in

with a prominent navel or a prominent nose. If there be one lame among them, or one maimed in hand, arm, eye, or any other member, that defect he owes to enemy, wild beast, or accident, not to his mother; for the women there, in comparison with other lands, are less subject to disturbance and weakness of the mind, they have healthy bodies, beautifully proportioned limbs and sturdy frames, and they bear splendid children whose vigour only age can weaken and destroy.

Our countrymen went on a trading expedition some distance from this place and encountered a people whose wits were not all of wood; for when our men, who as it happened were nicely groomed, and had either shaved or not yet come to grow a beard, were spreading out their wares for sale and inviting purchasers, this people cast a humorous scoff at them, that they should summon their husbands if they wished to come to terms, for they never did business with women. This from savages!⁴⁾

Their hearing is quick, their sense of smell acute, and their sight, as I have said, so keen that when in quest of honey they perform the amazing feat of following with their eyes the tiny bee in its flight to the honeycomb whether it be lodged in a lofty rock or hollow tree or hidden cave. And if perchance, owing to the intervention of thicket, wood, river or other obstacle or hindrance, the bee should elude the sight of the pursuer, then he checks his course, turns his face towards the west, and diligently watches for another bee winging its way on the track of the former; this then serves him for a guide and brings him to the desired prize⁵⁾.

Moreover I have observed that our Africans are led to the bee's nest by the song and flight of a certain little bird that is very fond of honey⁶⁾. It is said that other birds give

search of honey," he says, "the man will follow the bee as far as he can with his eyes, say at least 15 or 18 yards; in that line of flight he will search for a dropping of the bee and will find it; he will then in the next line of 10 or 15 yards search for another dropping, and the line of these two droppings will indicate the course the bee took to the nest . . . There is a Hottentot at Warmbad who is a great expert in brewing honey beer . . . This fellow told me himself of this manner of finding the honey by following up the droppings of the bees." (*Trans. S. Afr. Philos. Soc.*, 1896, Min. Proc. p. xvi).

⁶⁾ Popularly known in S. Africa as the "honey guide" (*Indicator spp.*). The natives of Bechuanaland and elsewhere still obtain honey through the agency of this bird, as described by G., and are always careful to leave a little behind in payment.

serpentium indices esse, ipso vidi, ejusque ope forte in decempedam versicolorem jaculum caudâ acutissimâ, aspectu pulchrum, procul dubio aviculae, pullis aut eorum nido insidiantem incidi: adde his, quod Barbari adventantes, portumque hunc subituras naves e litore speculatores fidelissimi detegant, Europeorum oculis ad omnia haec caecutientibus, ita ut diceret eos acumine visus cum illo Siculo certaturos, qui ex Lilybaeo Promontorio Carthaginiensium classem ex ipsorum portu vela facientem numerabat, si Straboni fides habenda.

Lanam quam Hottentorum ovibus spissam natura negavit, hanc (res miratu digna!) pro capillitio eis datam, ovesque musimones,* aut capillatas dicerem: quarum femura docto quorundam delicatulorum nostratium summique fastidii palato, non aequè ac Europaeorum vervecum armi, salivam detestabili fastu movent.

Carne bovina, ovilla, et quavis ferina, aliaque ipsorum rumini conveniente, probe tostâ, aut elixa magnam partem vescuntur; etiam pisce marino ac fluviatili, longissimeque hi ichthyophagi diversi ab interioribus hujus orae incolis, qui ab omni piscium genere, etiam crustato abhorrent; adhaec Frugibus et bulbis sylvestribus aliisque dapibus inemptis, et quidquid Lurcones fames ingenique largitor venter glutire docuit, hoc insaturabili abdomine degulant, nec balenae, aut aliis vastae molis piscibus, quos vivos aut mortuos exaestuans mare litori illidit, latrans ipsorum stomachus parcat; en dapes exquisitissimas!

Edentes qualescunque liquores, cibosque liquidos cochleari ex cornu bovis conflato, quandoque etiam conchâ marina eos hauriunt, quos adhaec penicillis, melli aut lacti instinctis oreque exsuctis capiunt.

Apriegnam, lupinam, leoninam, aliorumque rapacium carnivororumque animalium carnem, ut immundam, vetitam, sordibusque nutritam reprobant, respuuntque, et butyrum, ovaque gustare fas non putant. Pueris leporinam esitare licet, sed uxoratis nefas est. Ovium lacte, tanquam noxio, abstinent omnes, solisque impuberibus illo vesci licet.

* Pliny, *Natural History*, viii, 49, 75 § 199. Est in Hispania, sed maxime Corsica, non absimile pecori genus musmonum, caprino villo quam pecoris velleri propius.



HOW THE HOTTENTOTS MILK THEIR COWS (A) AND MAKE BUTTER (B).
[After Kolb.]

warning in places beset by lions or other wild beasts. And I myself have seen some that betray the presence of snakes. It was by the help of one of these that I came upon a ten-foot, parti-coloured tree-snake, with a very sharp tail and of beautiful appearance, which was, without doubt, intending to seize the bird, or its young, or their nest. An additional proof of their keen sight is that native watchers on shore most faithfully discover the approach of ships to this harbour long before they are visible to European eyes; so that it might be said that in sharpness of vision they rival that Sicilian, who, if we may believe Strabo, did from the Lilybaean promontory count the vessels of the Carthaginian fleet as they sailed out of their own harbour.

It is a notable fact that nature has adorned the heads of the Hottentots with the thick wool she has denied to their sheep. The sheep I should describe as *musimones*, or hairy. A leg of the local mutton does not, owing to their hateful gourmandise, tempt the nice palate of our dainty countrymen so powerfully as a shoulder of European lamb.

They live for the most part on beef, mutton, all sorts of game, and other flesh that suits their taste, well roasted or boiled. They also eat sea fish and river fish, and in this they differ widely from the inhabitants of the inland parts, who refrain from every kind of fish, even shell-fish⁷⁾. They live also on wild fruits and roots, and other unpurchased victuals; and whatever else hunger and the belly that is the dispenser of invention has taught gluttons to devour, this they swallow down into their insatiable maws; nor does that barking dog, their stomach, spare whales or other monstrous fish which the tide casts dead or alive upon the shore. Such are their choice feasts!

In eating liquids, or liquid food, they use spoons fashioned of ox-horn, and sometimes also sea-shells. Or they dip sponges in honey or milk and suck them.

They reject and refuse the flesh of boars, wolves, lions and other wild and carnivorous animals, as unclean, forbidden, and nourished on filth, nor do they think it right to taste butter and eggs. Boys may eat the flesh of hares, but only until provided with a wife. All refrain from sheep's milk as injurious, saving children who are allowed

⁷⁾ This applies to the AmaXhosa, of whom the survivors of the "Stavenisse" reported that "they eat no fish, nor anything that comes out of the sea." (Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, iii, 62).

Et quamvis variae hic praestantesque salinae lacusque, quorum aquae sua sponte in sal concreverunt, salis tamen usus ignorant. Nostratium autem salgama, eorundemque carnem, aut piscem salictum, reliquosque cibos muriaticos non fastidiunt, quorum lactucam, oleraue tandem avidi edere didicere, quae olim pecori cum graminibus campi, illudentes Europaeorum ingluviei, depascenda censebant, et Boves convivas facerent, herbasque aggererent, invitantibus in prandium aut caenam regerebant, iactantes se inedia sustinere, pauperiemque pati ab infantia didicisse. Certe penitius omnem vitam eorum inspiciens comperi ipsos penuriae tolerantissimos, eamque per omnia extrema Rechabitarum similem ducere.

Potus nobis vicinis aqua et lacte, sed extimae gentes sitim insuper oxygulo, alicâ, zyrho, ceriâ, aut cervisiâ levant, quam Rotterodamenti similem, ducentis et amplius hinc milliaribus in capacissimis fictilibus vasis, primae et secundae notae cum pane autopyro coquere, adhaec pinsere granum nostratibus ignotum, farinâ candidissimâ boni nutrimenti, trifarium, milio aliquanto majus, et ab illo panicoque non multum abludente, norunt mulieres, quibus rei familiaris onus, et educendorum liberorum, agrorumque colendorum cura incumbit.

Si quae uno foetu geminos enixa, eos tollunt, et puerperae fovendos, nutriendosque dant: multum discrepantes à ceterioribus, et qui nostratibus intermixti degunt, sueti alterum gemellorum, puellam scilicet, marem semper servantes, immani saevitia! avibus ferisque diripiendam dilacerandamque in dumo exponere, aut vivam in terram

⁶) None of these food taboos seems to have persisted down to recent times, save only that of the hare. In all the Hottentot tribes this might only be eaten by women and children, and was strictly forbidden to men and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites. This taboo was apparently associated with the well-known myth in which the hare distorts the message given him by the Moon to convey to people on earth, and promises them death instead of immortality. Any man found guilty of eating the hare's flesh was excluded from the company of other men until he had been purified of his offence. (See Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 239-40, 283, 357-8). The "Stavenisse" crew reported of the AmaXhosa that "the old men and women do not eat hares, but the young people may . . . they also do not eat lions and 'wolves' (hyenas), which are held to be unclean." (Godée-Molsbergen, *loc. cit.*) And again: "They do not eat poultry because these feed on filth, still less do they eat eggs, and it makes them sick to see

the use of it.⁸) And although there are here various excellent salt beds and pools, whose waters turn of their own accord to salt, yet they are ignorant of the use of it. But they do not refuse our pickles, or pickled foods, or salted flesh or fish. Our lettuces also and other vegetables they have at length learned to eat greedily, though at first, mocking the indiscriminate taste of Europeans, they would say that they were only fit to be eaten by cattle along with the grass of the field. Then, if asked to lunch or dinner, they would retort, make the oxen your guests, pile up the grass, boasting that they could endure fasting and had learned to bear poverty from childhood. And indeed on a close view of their whole life I have come to know that they are very patient of scant living and order their whole existence in the rigorous manner of the Rechabites.

Our neighbours drink water and milk, but the distant tribes quench their thirst also with curds and various sorts of beer. This, which is like Rotterdam beer, is made by the women two hundred and more miles from here in huge earthenware vessels, and is of two qualities.⁹) The women also bake a coarse bread, and pound a grain unknown to our countrymen which produces a white flour and is very nutritive; it is of three sorts, and is somewhat bigger than millet, and not very different from it and panic-grass.¹⁰) On the women lies the burden of the household, and also the education of the children and cultivation of the fields.

If a woman among them bear twins, they rear them, giving them to the mother to be cherished and fed. In this they differ greatly from the nearer tribes and those who live among us, for their custom is, when twins are born, to take one of them, of course the girl, for they always preserve the male, and cast it with hideous cruelty to the birds and beasts to tear and rend in some thicket, or to bury it alive in the earth. The reason they allege is that

Europeans do so" (Moodie, *Record*, 417). Grevenbroek evidently had these statements in mind when writing the passage above. Schreyer (op. cit., 45) says that Hottentot men were forbidden to drink sheep's milk, which was a food fit only for women.

⁹) Soga (*The Ama-Xosa*, 399-401) also speaks of two varieties of Kafir beer, *utywala*, a mild inebriant, mostly used at social gatherings, and *amarewu*, a non-intoxicant kind, used for private and domestic drinking. The "Stavenisse" crew said the Amakhosa had corn from which "they make very well tasted and nourishing bread, and brew beer both small and strong, which is not unpleasant in taste, and which they keep in earthen vessels" (Moodie, op. cit., 418).

¹⁰) Kafir corn (*Holcus sorghum*). The "Stavenisse" crew reported the existence of three kinds of this corn (Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., 67).

defodere; causantes gemelliparam duobus liberis pariter alendis imparem: quae si parturiens aut continuo postquam partum exdidit extinguitur, eam sine mora cum embrione aut infante, etiam vivo, non minori crudelitate sepeliunt. Attamen quandoque pater pecore dives, nutricem filiolarum supersti(ti) conducit, eique alendam tradit.

Hic silentio neutiquam praetereundum mihi arbitror, quod faber ferrarius quidam, vigesimo a Promontorio nostro lapide equitans, casu vagientem in arbore infantulum audiverit, et non procul inde repertam matrem probe delumbatam prolem diligere et *στοχῶν** docuerit.

Cui addendum reor, quod Europaeae quaedam in ipso Promontorio, defossam ab Afris filiolarum tempestive accurrentes effoderint, collatitio collectoque aere nutrici cuidam educandam detulerint.

Ubi vacca vitulum cum vitula simul enitur, illum in partes sectum canibus devorandum abjiciunt, hanc fatuè servant licet nunquam concepturam, inaudita quippe res Afris his, juvenulam gemellam peperisse.

Pedicâ, hamo, nassa, teloque, cultu tenuissimo magnam partem victitant: quamcumque feram, etiam elephantem consectorum venenatâ sagitta sauciarunt, hinc fugientem insequuntur eminus, eamque si non tempestivius, saltem post solis occasum, et sub crepusculum membris veneno et vespertino frigore jam obrigescentibus et sanguine coagulato, cadentem venatores assequuntur, excoriant dilaniantque, illius cor (cujus valvulis aut orificio virus concretum adhaeret) excindunt, omni que lurido abscisso rejectoque, carbonibus semitostum, et in buccas sectum, pro primaria dape praeda(ti)cia, promulside, et lauta gustatione

* The copyist did not know Greek. The word attempted to be written here is probably *στοργήν* natural affection. B.F.

¹¹⁾ The existence of this practice among the old Cape Hottentots is well-authenticated, although among the modern Nama twins, though regarded as unlucky, are no longer killed. Kolb (*op. cit.*, 443 ff.) describes it at some length. Cf. also Schapera, *op. cit.*, 266.

a mother of two is unequal to the task of rearing both at the same time.¹¹) If the mother dies in labour or immediately after giving birth to a child, then, with the same cruelty as before, they bury her at once with the embryo or infant, even if alive. However it does sometimes happen that a father who is rich in cattle hires a nurse for the little daughter who has survived, and hands her over to her care.

Here I think I ought not to pass over in silence the fact that a certain smith, who was riding twenty miles from the Cape, heard a child wailing in a tree, and not far off he found the mother to whom he gave a good hiding to teach her to love and care for her offspring.

To this I think I should add that certain European women at the Cape itself, running up just in time, dug up a little girl buried by the Africans. They raised a sum of money by subscription and hired a nurse for the child.¹²)

If a cow gives birth to a male and a female calf at the same time, they cut the male up and cast it to the dogs, the female they foolishly keep although it will never bear, for it is an unheard-of thing for these Africans that a twin calf should be fruitful.

For the most part they maintain a scant subsistence by means of snare, hook, weel and weapon. If their hunters wound any wild creature, even an elephant, with their poisoned arrows, they follow it from afar as it flees; and if they cannot come upon it sooner, then after sunset in the thickening light when its limbs are now stiffening with the poison and the chill of evening and when its blood is congealed, it falls and the hunters come up with it, flay it, and dismember it. The heart, to the valves and orifice of which the gathered poison clings, they cut out, and having chopped off and cast away all discoloured flesh,

¹²) This incident is recorded in the official journal (Jan. 24, 1669): "Yesterday afternoon some Cape ladies, whilst taking a walk towards the downs where a number of Hottentots ordinarily live, were told that the latter had buried a woman who had been delivered of a child the previous afternoon and died shortly afterwards, and that with her they had buried the living baby, after having put it into a bag, covering it with earth as usual. Thereupon the women . . . opened the grave as quickly as possible, and took out of it the little child alive." The incident of the smith I have not been able to confirm, but it seems equally authentic, and shows that infanticide was on occasion practised by the Hottentots (cf. Fritsch, *op. cit.*, 334).

devorant, reliquumque domi pullucto, licet vitiatum, depascuntur, nullosque carnales, nec morbum harum morbidarum carniū esu, macellarii visceribus inseminandum metuunt, judicantes cum Italis, mortua bestia, venenum intermori*: quae an emptorem unquam inter nostros cives, manu subitis avidâ invenerit, dictu non est proclive; hoc sane exploratum habeo eos gammarorum, rajarum, astacorum, pagurorum, caraborum, et quorumcunque piscium captorum, effossorumque bulborum frequentem hiantemque institorem experiri, qui saepe arte deludens, invicem arte deluditur, quaerensque fragili illidere dentem, offendit solido: Σύροι πρὸς Φοινίκας.

Virorum est expedire hyemi commeatum alimentaue, amygdala silvestria, cortice holoserico, coloris crocei: ari majoris radices, aptatas cibo: variosque bulbos: quae soli ostenta, et igniculo retosta fercula vetustatem ferentia, in scrobibus cryptisque proinde ac in penario, pro cupediis, subsecivâ operâ, et tanquam παρέργῳ Cisalpini Afri reponunt: remotiores caveas Barbari effodiunt, in quibus solerter ad aliquot annos frumentum asservant, et quo sicca haec horrea habeantur, illis stramen ad justam spithamae[que] altitudinem insternunt, eodemque latera spisse satis circumdant, denique frumento caeteroque commeatu complent, orificiumque cellae cōarctatum primo stramine et virgulto, denique quartâ et novissimâ (ut ita dicam) contignatione cavernam cespitibus, pari cum solo libra, contegunt, et ab omni corruptione tutam, longumque relinquunt, de nullo solliciti, nisi ut detegentes scrobem, compressam annonam omnem quantocius depascantur, ne aëri, lucique expositam aliqua calamitas tangat.

* In the last few lines there are several difficulties. I do not understand *pullucto*, *carnales*, nor *macellarii*.

¹³) This description of hunting and of the method to avoid the possible effects of the poison in the meat applies equally well to the modern Bushmen (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 133 ff.)

¹⁴) The account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the Xhosa corn-pits merely says: "They preserve their corn in cavities under ground, where it keeps good, and free from weevils, for years."

they half-roast it on coals, divide it into morsels, and swallow them as a foretaste, whet, or dainty appetiser for the banquet they have won by their hunting. The rest, though tainted, they consume at home, nor do they fear by the eating of this unwholesome flesh to plant any disease in their bodies, judging like the Italians that when the animal dies the poison dies with it.¹³⁾ Whether such an animal ever found a purchaser among our countrymen in one made reckless by some unforeseen predicament, it is not easy to say. But this I know for sure that they attempt dealings with a thronged and eager purveyor of lobsters, rays, crabs, crayfish, and all sorts of other fish he has taken, and roots he has dug up. He often cheats them or is in his turn cheated, and seeking to put his tooth in the tender flesh he champs upon bone. Greek meets Greek.

It is the part of the men to prepare the winter's supply of food, to wit, wild almonds with silky shells of a saffron hue, roots of the larger arum, good for food, and various bulbs. The natives on our side of the mountain, in their spare time, and as a hobby, expose these nuts and roots and bulbs to the sun, and roast them with a little fire, and when they have thus become fit to stand the passage of time they bestow them in ditches and caves, as if in a storehouse, to serve as dainties. The more distant natives dig storerooms in the earth in which they skilfully preserve corn for many years. To keep these granaries dry they fill the bottom with straw to the depth of a span, cover the sides pretty closely with the same, and then fill them with the grain and other provisions. The mouth of the chamber is stuffed with straw and brush, and finally, as a fourth and last layer, they cover the hollow with sods to the level of the ground. The corn is then left safe from all corruption and for a long time. Their only anxiety is, when they have opened the trench again, to devour all their store as quickly as possible lest some disaster should befall it on being exposed to the air and light.¹⁴⁾

(Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 66). The further details recorded by G. must therefore have been obtained orally from members of the crew. It is still the custom of the people to store their corn in such pits, which are generally dug in the cattle kraals.

Palmariae marium partes sunt pascere pecus, illudque curare, et contra leonum omniumque ferarum et hostium insultus tueri, quos certo ictu jaculô sagittâve (plurimum venenatis) feriunt.

Sub vesperam pastum pecus sepimento clausum, et anteriore sinistro pede loro vinctum, palo alligant, cujus distenta lacte ubera mulieres mulgent, et si quae vacca illud retinet (ut ferè sit) illico adest femina, quandoque etiam vir, qui ore admoto, podici tenacis bestiae inflant, quo medio invita lac mamma manare patitur.

Ex collo et in pectus pasceolum, et in illo spiculum, cultrum, nicotianum, tubulumque hauriendo ejus fumo, adhaec nonnulla frivola, cum uno alteroque dupondio, quae nostrates emunxere, et quod palmarium est, cum quodam ligno dactylidem non excedente, vice praebiorum propendentem, habens, hoc lignum averuncandis quibusque periculis, dum nox illos in latissimis leonibus anguibusque infestis campis, sub Jove frigido fruticeque dormire coactos deprehendit, salutiferum sibi pervigili excubatione, anili superstitione fingunt.

Pari credulitate de scarabeo quodam somniant, bonique ominis sibi augurantur dum illum tugurio insidentem vident, quem pro numine venerantur, nec patientur Europaeum illi insidiari, nedum illum laedere, sed leniter arreptum in deserta loca deferunt, illicque tuto deponunt, quo facto diem hunc hilarem sibi sumunt.

¹⁵⁾ This usage is also described by Schreyer (*op cit.*, 46). Even at the present day, among the Naman, if a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, someone may stand behind it and blow hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place (Schapera, *op cit.*, 295).

¹⁶⁾ A similar use of amulets was already mentioned by Dapper (see above, p. 53) and is confirmed by most other early writers, as well as by more recent authorities on the Naman (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 394).

The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.¹⁵⁾ By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.¹⁶⁾

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.¹⁷⁾

¹⁷⁾ G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf. Schapera, op. cit.*, 243).

Gravem ex humero et a tergo pharetram, et sicubi adversarius imminet telum, sarissam, pilum, jaculumve, longo latoque, et quandoque adunco hamatoque praeferata spiculo, ossibusve asperata, dextrâ gestant; altero cubitorum sex septemve et pluribus eburneis armillis calbeisque digiti crassitudine singulis, seque invicem contingentibus, tam in sui tutelam, quam ornatus gratiâ munito, quibus ictus hostiles, dentes unguesque ferarum è re nata cominus excipiunt: sinistrâ vero retinent clavam seu fustem ex praeduro gravique ligno, buxco simillimo, cum aliquot sagittis arcuque, et illo quo teguntur laxo, lanatoque scorteo, quo eminus hostium telis veluti clypeo scutati illudunt: abtegentibus se nonnullis praesultatoribus rorariisque, decumanorum boum ferociorumque taurorum corporibus, quos prolusionibus simulacris pugnae certaminibusque ludicris exercitos et in prima acie stare doctos, in adversum hostem capistratos agunt, quem hoc mobili et in omnem partem versatili vallo, veluti peribolo loricave tecti, fidenter thoracati petunt.

Hoc apparatu bellico instructi, pugnam laeti lacesunt, impavidique subsilientes, vibrando tela, jaculis certi, et sagittâ metuendi, vario corporis flexu et inclinatione hostilia exeunt arma; horrendo inconditoque clamore quo maximè hostis conterretur, tremendisque sibilis (voluntatis virtutisque indicibus) sublati, dum fremitu aethera retonant, cum hoste paribus adsiste in armis, introrsum sinuata acie, formidabiles concurrunt, conserti cohaerentesque, et collato pede aperto Marte manum conferunt, et priusquam unum

¹⁸⁾ This statement finds an interesting confirmation in the account given by de Barros of the skirmish with the Hottentots of Table Bay in which de Almeida was killed (1510). The Hottentots, says de Barros, "having called their cattle, which are accustomed to this kind of warfare, began to whistle to them and make signs by which they guide them, so that forming into a squadron, and sheltered by the cattle, they attacked our men with wooden darts hardened by fire. Some fell wounded and were trodden down by the cattle, and as most of them were without shields, their only weapons being lances and swords, in this kind of warfare they could not do much damage to the negroes, who from among the cattle hurled their weapons against

Hanging from the shoulder on to the back they carry a heavy quiver, and if an enemy should be near, they carry in the right hand a dart, lance, spear or javelin, with a long, broad, and sometimes curved and barbed iron spike at the top. Sometimes the weapon is fitted with sharpened bone. On one of their arms they wear six or seven or more ivory armlets or bracelets, each of the thickness of a finger and touching one another. This is as much for protection as for ornament, for they parry with them at close quarters as occasion requires the blows of their enemies, or the teeth and claws of wild beasts. In the left hand they hold a club or staff of hard and heavy wood, like box, together with a bow and some arrows, and that loose and woolly skin covering, with which, as if protected by a shield, they ward off the missiles of the enemy. They also employ a sort of advance-guard or skirmishers who shelter themselves behind the bodies of huge oxen or savage bulls. These creatures are trained in preliminary sham-fights and sportive encounters, and taught to keep their places in the front line. They are then led against the enemy on a halter, and the warriors sheltering behind this moveable rampart which can be wheeled in any direction hurl their weapons at the foe, as confident in their defence as if protected by a breastwork or parapet.¹⁸⁾

Equipped with this warlike gear they gladly challenge encounter with the foe, leaping forth fearlessly, brandishing their missiles, deadly with their spears, terrible with their arrows, and with various bendings and stoopings avoiding the enemies' arms. With horrible uncouth shouts to frighten the enemy, and terrifying hissings to prove their courage and zeal, while the welkin rings with the cry, "To grips with the foe," with their line of battle bent inwards they make their formidable onset in serried unbroken array, and getting to close quarters in open warfare they join battle, and before one missile can fall they follow it with

our men, which had immediate effect." (Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vi. 301). Schreyer (*op. cit.*, 23-24) describes a similar method of hunting lions and other beasts of prey.

telum ceciderit, instant cum altero, inestque virus volucris ferro, certoque ictu destinata feriunt, et internecino bello, nullâ imbellis sexus aut aetatis ratione habitâ, ad unum omnes atroces delent, ingerentes per ludibrium victis nequidquam fidem implorantibus: *Mali corvi, malum ovum*: braviumque* conflictus, armentorum pecorumque maxime gregis, armorumque praeda, et nonnulla opima spolia, quae cito diripiuntur, per multas petita manus: sicque alteri alteros atterunt.

Quo modo quaque arte arma sua viro illinunt, scribere supersedeo, ne videar Europae, satis superque bellis ardenti faculam addidisse, viamque generi humano extirpando aperuisse, meque ipsum matribus posteritatisque detestandum propinasse.

Pacem facturi in colliminio** armati conveniunt, et ubi de ejus conditionibus convenere, ilico bucculam in ipso confinio, telis jaculisque confixam feris devorandam relinquunt, quaevis dira foedifrago imprecantes, optantesque ut pari modo quo victima confossus perfidus pereat, et volucris, carnificis (sic), rapacibusque animalibus esca execratus fiat: rite vota nuncupantes.

V. Kal. Febs. anni MDCLXXXVII Primarius quidam Afrorum nostrorum, de Batavis optime meritis, plagam orientem spectantem, tridui aut quadridui viâ a nobis dissitam inhabitans, qui se suaque jam olim Societati nostrae venditavit, illiusque fidei omnia commisit, gentico nomine *Thausouwê*, nostratibus autem Nicolaus centurio dictus, in castrum, comite alio paris dignitatis, eique confini Afro vocatus venit, ut auctore, teste et arbitro Promontorii Praefecto, exardescentia inter ipsos dissidia, et jam gliscente discordiâ, priusquam res in nervum erumpat, cum bona gratiâ coniscantes componantur: dictum, factum: suas(u)que Praetoris omnis dolor pectibus erasus abit, sedantur animi, fit pristina amicitiae redintegratio,

* Praemium (?).

** Collimitio (?).

another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.¹⁹⁾

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausouwe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.²⁰⁾ On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

¹⁹⁾ There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

²⁰⁾ This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

pactaeque societatis signo, manus invicem sociant: sed hic sinistram, ille dextram jungit: quod miratus, hujusque novitatis mihi causam rimanti inquirentique, *malum hunc accolam finitimumque gravem scaevam esse, sinistram qua viribus praepollet noxiosissimamque in fidei pignus obtulisse* nervosè paratissimèque argutulus attendenti respondet Barbarus: qui porrò scissitanti (sic) scrutantique mihi, quo nomine apud ipsos Supremum numen veniat: continuò mirabili genealogia ultimae originis adjicit *Khourrou* vel *Thikkwa*: inferum autem *Damoh* appellari: ab hoc Summo Deo, *Noh* primum hominem, ejusque conjugem *Hingnogh* creatos: hosque sanguinis sui ultimos auctores humanum genus, majoresque suos uxores ducere, liberos tollere, poligamiae, paci et concordiae studere, alium non laedere, suum cuique tribuere docuisse, hisque similia praecepta, infra succincte narranda tradidisse, non irrediculè infit: amboque reconciliati, cum donis tamen et cum bona gratia dimittuntur.

In alterutrius territorio thermae reperiuntur, quas exopinatò cives nostri trajecturi, tabulis asseribusque suorum curruum constravere, eosque sive halitu bullientis ferventisque aquae, sive earundem exhalationum acrimoniâ ambesos, et colore aliquatenus mutatos invenerunt, perpauci(s)que passibus inde, geminas scaturigines aquae jugis gelidaeque, pari modo, quo majores nostri Aquis grani Balnea detexere, an aequè lavacro salutifera, hactenus popularium nostrorum negligentia in perspicienda rerum naturâ ignoratur. Aliaque majoris ponderis scitu factaque facilia dignissimaque eorundem negligentia inexplorata aut omissa, sordidè gazis, scelerum invitamentis, inhiantibus spreta jacent, dum ut assolet,* et hominum nostrorum natura ita comparata sit, ut publica privatis illiberalibusque lucris postponent: hinc aegritudinis nostrae stirpes!

* I suspect some words have been dropped here in the MS. The phrase *dum ut assolet* makes no sense as it stands.

²¹⁾ *Khourrou* = !*Gurub*, the thunderer, another name for *Tsui-//goab* (= *Thikkwa*, *Thikkwa*), the great Hottentot rain god. *Damoh* is probably an attempt to spell the name //*Gaunab*, who figures in Hottentot mythology as an evil chief, and in the beliefs of the people as the source of all evil. (See Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, passim; Schapera, *op. cit.*, 376-89). The myth of mankind's origin given by G. is apparently not found among the modern Naman, but Hahn (*op. cit.*, 105) quotes from Wuras a Korana myth of a similar nature. "The old people say that they have heard from their grandfathers that Tsui-Koab had made two persons, a man

friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damoh*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practice polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.²¹⁾ This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.²²⁾ But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kanima, ostrich feather, and a woman *Hau na maos*, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (*Kiri*), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

²²⁾ These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Soc.* 5, pp. 60 ff.

Ego torrentem diurni itinere a Promontorio distantem, plurimis rivulis auctum, leni tractu aquarum prope Saldagniensem Sinum oceano se infundentem transiturus, compluries mephitim sensi, parem illi quem A° 1673 in Latio apertissimis campis, ad dextram Viae Flaminiae ex Hetruria veniens, non procul Centumcellis, me odoratum commemini: quae loca accipio à discessu meo ab urbe, terrae motibus conquassata et pene eversa: Superi omen avertant, fallantque metum, ne similis calamitas aliquando hos colonos incautos, imparatosque improvisò percutiat, et ne hic alterum Aetnam, aut illius ignium aemulum Vesuvium aliquem inopinato prorumpentem videamus. Sane similium malorum praeludia expertissimo [et] exitioso prodigio constat nil boni portendere: utinam falsus malorum praesagus sim, faxintque Superi, ut tempestivis febris, catharmate humili, piacularibusque officiis averruncum patiamur Jovem iracunda et deprecanea ponere fulmina! Ignosce diverticulo.

Accepi ex quodam non temnendae fidei Batavo adseverante, se nunquam praetervectum caute, uno alt(e)rove milliari à praedio suo distantem, quin viderit quoscunque comites Barbaros, decerptum ex proximo frutice aut arbore ramum, ei tanquam verbenam instravisse, rogatosque causam, jejunè satis, sui majorumque suorum antiquitus id moris, et vetustissime in usu ipsis esse, respondisse, et aegerrime tulisse, quod nostrates, loco hoc capitali, exonorantes alvum, illorum cultui tam foedè illuderent.

Unus et alter Afer mihi insuper narravit ipsos annuis comitiis, stato loco et die sub latebrosa rupe, tanquam Mantaeo, tributum sacrificare. Sed de his infra fusius.

Mulieribus suis mirum in modum morigeris, nec minus castis, haud secus ac jumentis mancipiisque dorso onera gestantibus, abutuntur, easque Manliano imperio exercent: quarum crura multis jaculis, spissisque loris a talibus genua tenus*, hac de causa hocque argumento mihi

* There seems no possible doubt that these words are a slip for *a talis genuum tenus*.



THE HOTTENTOT MODE OF WARFARE.
(Notice the use of oxen as tanks.)

[*After Kolb.*]

There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.²³⁾ Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.²⁴⁾ Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

²³⁾ Probably the Berg R.

²⁴⁾ A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 383 ff.

videntur redimita, quo eorum pondere praepeditis, haud aliter ac ocreatis, malitiosae desertionis, aut abnoctandi, longiusque quam par est à gurgustio aberrandi facultatem, semper novitatis avidis caute provideque his periscedelibus recidant.

Quotiescunque foras palatum et pabulatum procedunt, ex dorso manticam, bulgam, ascoperamve, et in illa nonnunquam infantulum sedentem secum asportat, convasantes quaecunque huc et illuc observando ab obviis exterebrare, aut ex campis tripedali ferreo, quandoque etiam ligneo vecte, in mucronem deficiente, imaque sui parte cuspidato, effodere valent.

In Magosis filias cum hospitibus stupro coire parentes patiuntur, comitasque habetur vulgati corporis vilitas, totaque impudicitia (honos castis abstinentibusque auribus oculisque sit) urbanitas vocatur, modo pretium flagitii lunula, condalium, dactylion aeneum ferreumve, vel novena aut dena vitria corallia, hisque similia muliebria monilia crepundiaque dentur, et abstineant caveantque parentibus coram lascivire, et propudiosa, turpia, obscaenaque jacere verba, aut reverentiae pudorisque claustra violare, qui quàm aegrè ista ferant, et quàm gravia ipsis sint haec flagitia, torvo et reflexo in tergum vultu, fronte obducta, teretibus religiosisque auribus, et proprio secessu, soliti suos adamare et deperire liberos, pudibundi talibus vitiis abhorrentes, testabuntur nec facili usquam gentium parentes, nil ve[r]nale redolentes, intimioris in liberos pietatis invenies, nullo aere nec quantovis pretio extraneis eos mancipio distracturos. Liberis quippe servitutis pretium ingratum est.

^{24a}) This statement does little credit to G.'s fund of common-sense. A more reasonable explanation of these leggings is given by Dapper (see above, p. 53).

²⁵) i.e. AmaXhosa, a branch of the S.E. Bantu. The spelling "Magosi" or "Magose" figures in the various reports of the "Stavenisse" crew.

²⁶) The foregoing passage is obviously based on the following remarks of the "Stavenisse" crew: "The unmarried daughters may indulge freely in love, nor is it any disgrace for them to sleep even with married men, although for this they must be paid, generally with three iron finger rings, or 10 or 12 coral beads, or some similar objects. The men are greatly offended if anybody should speak dishonourably or disrespectfully of their daughters, sisters or other female relatives, and show this by at once leaving the company" (free translation of the original Dutch account, given

and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.^{24a)} For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles.

Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Magosi²⁵⁾ parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.²⁶⁾ You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.²⁷⁾ Freemen despise the price of servitude.

in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 64). The verbal embroidery is all G.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the AmaXhosa as *ukumetsha*, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 113 ff.).

²⁷⁾ "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 65).

Si quae vulgò concipiens parit, haec omnibus despectui est, teneturque fetum, patrem nullum nisi populum habentem, alere: nec procum facile experitur, quam ubi proles propriâ industriâ victum et amictum sibi conquirere valet: adeo alieni sunt ab oneribus matrimonialibus, hocque casu nubens in potestatem mariti cum subole transit.

Virginem nubilem viro tempestivam à parentibus procus ex vicinò, et nunquam eodem quo amasia nata vico oriundus, instituto probabili, quanto potest minime mercatur: sic enim moribus et longâ consuetudine cautum est, alienigenae non gentilitio eam despondere, incestus labi occurrendo, et illicito cum necessariis matrimonio vitando; forte etiam quo pacis, societatis et concordiae studia, et commercii nervi cum finitimis, hoc sacro foedere, jugali vinculo et matrimoniali capistro fidelius stringantur, et nuptiis alligati arctius coalescant: facta exinde juxta pacta conventa per amasium pensione, et armis, pecoribus, aliisque rebus, Barbaris in pretio, socero persolutis, pactam oppignoratamque filiam pater, eoque donato,* defuncti filius sororem nuptui dat, illoque praemortuo consanguinitate proximus puellam in matrimonium (verius meâ sententiâ in servitutem) sine dote, sine paraphernis, nullisque paratibus, et solis panniculariis instructam collocat, pretiumque sibi totum trahit, sponsa laribus paternis nubit, et in amoris fideique conjugalis tesseram arrhamque articulum auricularis digiti scaevae abscindit, et ad eandem amputationem redit quotiescunque ad nova vota transit: quamobrem de salute mariti sollicita sit, ni malit manus digitis orbas videre.

* Probably for *denato*, dead.

²⁸⁾ In the main this paragraph is equally true of the modern AmaXhosa.

²⁹⁾ The description up to this point applies to the AmaXhosa and not to the Hottentots. The "Stavenisse" account, upon which G. has drawn, is more clearly expressed: "They will not marry any woman related to them by blood, no matter how remote the relationship may be; and to prevent such an unseemly union, they generally marry with their neighbours. The bridegroom purchases the bride from her parents as reasonably as he can, for a certain number of oxen, cows, iron, copper or beads; and having paid these he takes his wife home, accompanied by her friends and relatives, old and young, men and women" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 64). The AmaXhosa still refrain from marrying a blood relative.

If any girl bears a child as the result of promiscuous intercourse, she becomes an object of contempt to all, and is bound to rear the babe, which has no father except the community. Nor does she readily find a suitor until the child by its own efforts is able to obtain food and clothing for itself; so averse are the men from taking on matrimonial burdens. When she does marry, she and the child pass into the power of the husband.²⁸⁾

When a girl becomes of marriageable age and ripe for a husband, a suitor from a neighbouring village, but never from the same one as his beloved — an excellent institution — purchases her from her parents at the lowest price for which he can get her. Through this old established custom it is secured that she is betrothed to a stranger and not to one of the same stock; the risk of incest is met, and the danger of illicit union within the tables of consanguinity avoided. The intention may also be that peace, harmony and concord, and the threads of friendly dealing may be drawn tighter by this sacred treaty, pledge of union, and matrimonial bond; that the marriage may be a link to bind them more closely to one another. When the bridegroom has then made payment in accordance with the terms agreed upon, and when arms, cattle and other things the natives value, have been presented to the father-in-law, then the father, or, if he be dead, the son of the deceased, or if he be dead, the male next of kin, gives the pledged and promised bride in marriage (more truly, in my opinion, in slavery) without dowry, without possessions, without preparations, equipped only with a few rags of clothing;²⁹⁾ the whole bride-price he keeps for himself, the bride marries into the family of the father (of the bridegroom), and as a token and gauge of her love and conjugal fidelity she cuts off a joint of the little finger of her left hand, and she resorts to a similar amputation as often as she passes to a new husband.³⁰⁾ Wherefore she does well to concern herself for her husband's health, should she have no taste to see her hands grow fingerless.

The "purchase" referred to is the payment of *lobola* cattle made by the bridegroom's family to the bride's people (see Soga, *op. cit.*, chap. 13).

³⁰⁾ This is a Hottentot custom. Amputation of the finger joints is also found occasionally among the AmaXhosa, but, according to Soga (*op. cit.*, 298-9), the custom takes its rise in children's ailments, and is due to the superstitious belief that if the first joint of the child's little finger (either hand) were not cut off, the child would waste away.

Quandoque puerpera tribus quatuorve liberis jam praemortuis, orbitatem metuens, vitam superstiti infanti, ab averruncis diis deprecatura, per foramen in tugurioli tecto factum, desuper in humi jacentem nudum filiolum lympham ollâ ex proximo fonte, aut torrente haustam effundit, mox mediis mapalibus sedens, gnatum corpori applicat, eumque tanquam tum demum in lucem editum, suaviatur; hinc utriusque manus auriculari digito articulum deprecaneo sacrificio sibi abscindit, eosque inibi in terram defodit; ultimò hospites lautè prorsusque prolixè accipiuntur, seque liberaliter oblectant, saltatorio magistro papâ, omnibus in rebus, ut fere passim assolet, praesultante.

Procus ardentem castumque suum amasiae testaturus amorem, illius sinistram malam duobus suis dextrae digitis, pollice et indice, leni tactu comprimit, eosque osculatur. Pariter quidam trimulus Afer stipem à me petens, impetratam continuo matri, gaudio exiliens porrigit, quae sinistrâ eam avidè arripiens, primoribus duobus dextrae digitis laevam pusionis bucculam attingit, eosque labiis suis admotos, laeta me coram suaviata. Hinc una alterave ovicula, et ubi sponsi opes tantas expensas patiuntur, etiam bos harioli, fatidici aut magi manibus cadit; interim nova nupta alicui spinturnicio aut antistitae scientiâ moribusque caeteris conspectiori, veneriis tyrociniis, Junoniisque officiis imbuenda traditur. Haec eam quibus artibus sponsum demulceat, quomodo marito blandiatur, palpumque obtrudat, quibusque mysteriis conjugalia sacra constant, edocet; demum ei pedes felle caesae bestiae umbratica inungit, ejus folliculum tecto, sub quo haec sacra peraguntur, imponens: quo facto sacerdos, haruspex aut Flamen nudos neogamos, verendis dumtaxat tectis, à vertice summo ad imum calcem, pinguedine bestiae liquefactâ et igne temperatâ, eorundemque vestes unctor

³¹⁾ I cannot decide whether G. is here referring to the Hottentots or the AmaXhosa; I have not come across any other mention of the rite he describes.

³²⁾ The following description apparently applies to the Hottentots only. It is one of the fullest of the earlier accounts

Sometimes a young mother who has already lost three or four children, and is afraid of being left quite childless, resorts to the following practice to secure the life of a surviving child from the protecting deities. Through a hole in the roof of the hut she pours water fetched in a pitcher from the neighbouring spring or river down onto her little son as he lies naked on the ground; then sitting in the middle of the hut she holds her child close to her body and kisses him as if he had just been born;³¹⁾ next she cuts off a joint from the little finger of each hand as a sacrifice of propitiation, and buries them there in the earth; finally guests are received in a luxurious and abundant style, and enjoy themselves lavishly, with a priestly dancing master, according to their almost universal habit, leading the way in everything.

The bridegroom, wishing to prove his burning and chaste passion for his beloved, gently pinches her left cheek with the thumb and forefinger of his right hand, and then kisses these two fingers. I observed a similar action, when a native child of three years of age begged a copper of me, and forthwith, jumping with joy, gave it to his mother; for she eagerly snatched the coin with her left hand, but with the first two fingers of her right hand she touched the left cheek of the little lad, then put the fingers to her lips and fondly kissed them in my presence.

After the wedding³²⁾ a sheep or two, or, if the resources of the bridegroom will stand so great an expense, even an ox, is sacrificed by the hands of soothsayer, prophet or wizard; meantime the new bride is handed over to some ugly and experienced old crone, respected above the rest for learning and character, to be instructed in the ABC of love and the duties of maternity. From her she learns by what arts to allure her lord, to win upon her husband, and to soothe him down, and in what mysteries the marriage rites consist. Then within the shelter of the house she anoints the bride's feet with the gall of a slaughtered animal, placing the skin of the animal upon the roof under which these rites are performed. When this has been done, a priest, diviner, or flamen assumes the office of anointer and smears the newly-wedded pair, now naked except for their privates, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet with animal fat warmed and melted in the heat of the fire. Their garments are smeared in the same way. Then he sprinkles the skin of

and from such other evidence as is available appears to be substantially correct. Cf. the discussion of Hottentot marriage ceremonies in Schapera, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.

illinit: mox pulvisculo herbae Bochu ambos ipsorum pelles prospergit, quemadmodum olim Graecis Romanisque in more positum fuisse, farre molito et salito hostiam perspersam sacrare: denique utriusque collo praecordia sacrificii undulata contortaque (pari modo quo nostrates strophium, monilia, phalerasve subnectant) appendit: ultimo novis conjugibus mutuam amorem, castimoniam tori, illibitam fidem, sedulamque sobolis procreationem, reliquaue conjugalia munia seriò injungit: hinc vernaculae festivitatis pleni, diripiunt verruntque dapes adipatas, pedeque libero pulsantes thymelici terram, choreas agunt, viri cum viris tanquam in adronitide epulantur: feminae cum feminis gynaeceo gulum curant, et quisquis sexus tecto secretus: sola sponsa hoc geniali die (merito ei festivissimo) in posteram usque lucem jejumat, faucesque licet ardentissimas nullo liquore proluit, suspicor pro nimio gaudio, quod maritum nacta sit, corculumque maerorem versuatâ tristitia mentitur, cum laetitia exultans, uxorum ordini adscriptam: nocte sponsus solus cum sola in tecto, his sollennibus patrandis erecto, cubat: quid porró hic monstri alant agantque supparo Harpocratis, Lucinaeque velo oblecta manent, et per me licet aeternum maneant.

Nuptiis jam splendide celebratis, sponsus nuptam, utrorumque consanguineis, affinis, paranympsis, amicisque stipatus, domum suam ducit, ubi repotiis et adjicialibus epulis, refectoque convivio, pro re nata excepti, quum perlitatum est hostiis, ne quid scenae desit, solenni inauguratione per cultrarium peracta, et confarreatis neogamis secunda quaevis adprecanti, omnes ad solita munera alacres redeunt.

Parturienti mulieri consanguinitate ei junctae vicem obstetricis supplent. Hae octavo postquam infantem enixa die, subinde etiam tardius, puerperam pro anni tempore, hyberno tepidâ, aestivo frigida aquâ probè in tugurio, a vertice ad imam pedis plantam, remotis viris circumluunt, eamque tum demum foras ire patiuntur. Hinc maritus

both with a powder of the bochu shrub, just as in the old days we learn it was the practice of the Greeks and Romans to sprinkle a victim with milled and salted flour before sacrifice. Next the entrails of the slaughtered animal are hung in waved and twisted coils about the neck of each, much as our countrymen do with girdles, necklaces and ornaments for the breast. Finally the priest solemnly exhorts the young couple to mutual love, a chaste concern for the marriage bed, unsullied faith, an earnest zeal in the begetting of children, and all the other duties of wedlock.

After this, full of their native jollity, they fall upon their greasy banquet and clean it up, and musicians beating the earth with free foot begin the dance. Men banquet with men as if in special quarters; women feast with women in a place reserved for them.^{32a)} Each sex is under a separate roof. Only the bride on this auspicious day, which ought to be gayest for her above all, fasts till the morrow's dawn, nor though her throat be on fire will she taste of any drink. I suppose that she conceals her excessive joy at gaining a husband by an exhibition of affected gloom, while all the time exulting with joy at being enrolled among the wives. Then when night falls the husband sleeps alone with the bride in the house that has been built for the consummation of these rites. What prodigies they here devise and act remain concealed beneath the robe of Harpocrates and the veil of Lucina, and so far as concerns me may remain so for ever.

When the brilliant celebration of the nuptials is over, the bridegroom, accompanied by the kinsfolk and connections of both, by the bridesmen and his friends, leads the bride to his home. Here the drinking and feasting are resumed, and the festivities repeated, to welcome the pair as the occasion demands. Then when sacrifice has been made, so that nothing should be lacking to complete the scene, and when the solemn inauguration has been accomplished by the priest, after calling down all sorts of blessings on the newly-married pair, all promptly depart and resume their usual activities.

When a woman is in childbed, her relations perform the duties of the midwife. These women on the eighth day after the birth of the child, and sometimes even later, wash the young mother from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet thoroughly, before letting her go abroad. The men are turned out of the hut. The temperature of the

^{32a)} This separation of the sexes at meals, and especially at feasts, is noticed by most writers on the early Hottentots.

convocatos utriusque sexus propinquos et affines, tecto suo excipit, ubi quum consedere de nomine puero indendo primò uxorem suam percunctatur, eique ut plurimum assentitur, et post illum reliqui ad unum omnes, ingenioque puerperae applaudunt, suoque nomine appellatum infantem salutant, eique et parentibus felicia precati, genethliacis celebrandis diem terunt.

Notus mihi Barbarus *Gauda* dictus (quò nomine Latinis *Dama* venit) quia ea die qua natus, matre ejus de cibo valdè sollicità, pater a venatione oneratus damis domum redibat, quorum carne esurientes convivas, nebridibusque recentem natum commodè tanquam fasciis excipiebat: hinc mater occasionem arripuit, filio *Gaudae* nomen imponendi. Alia media aestate pariens, quum Sol radiis suis terram pecusque maximè urit, adeò ut illa arescat, hocque ubera lacte siccata habeat, quamobrem puerpera, dum insuper mamillas suas exsiccatas videt, misericordia tacta, filiulae *Bithathè* nomen indidit, voce composità ex *Bi* quod lac, et *thathè* quod penuriam significat: appellatione valde opportunâ.

Sicubi patrifamilias res pecuaria ampla est iterum per sacrificulum victima cadit, cujus adipe infans cum matre ab ariolo vaporante circumliniuntur herbâque Bochu, pari quo dixi modo persperguntur, natalitiisque datis, maritus in unam alteramque hebdomadam se foras proripit, et nisi infans mammâ disjunctus aut lacte depulsus sit, vir cum muliere sua etiam toto anno non cubat, eaque gravida secubat: interim pellicibus aut vagae veneri litans, nam Afris his plures solent esse nuptae, quae singulae suis mapalibus separatim degunt, remque familiarem maritique jussa religiosè curant, eique certatim vultu verbisque blandiuntur, qui in binoctium trinoctiumque pro cujusque venere, gratia meritisque, mox hanc mox illam complectitur,

³³) This description (together with the following paragraph) also applies to the Hottentots. It is of course by no means complete, but is correct in suggesting that the mother is secluded for some time after the birth, and that before she leaves her hut she is ceremonially cleansed (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 262 ff). There is no other record of a name-giving ceremony similar to that mentioned by G.

³⁴) Wreede's Hottentot vocab. gives the word *k'goeda* = steenbok (Latin *capricornus*, not *dama*, which is given as the Latin equivalent of klipspringer = Hottentot *k'gogëe*): Kolb's vocab. (said to be based on that of G.), gives Hot. *kāouda* = steenbok. (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 222, 227).

³⁵) This statement, although applicable to most primitive peoples, seems in the present instance not to refer to the Hotten-

water is according to the season of the year, hot in winter, cold in summer. Then the husband calls together his kith and kin of both sexes and receives them in his hut. When they are all seated the matter of a name for the child is broached. First he asks his wife; as a rule he expresses his agreement with her, and after him they all do likewise, praising the wit of the young mother. They then greet the child by his new name, pray for happiness for him and his parents, and pass the day in celebrating the birth.³³⁾

A certain native of my acquaintance has gotten the name of *Gauda* (in Latin *dama*, or buck)³⁴⁾ from the following circumstance. On the day on which he was born, his mother being very anxious about food, his father came home from the hunt laden with buck. The hungry guests were fed upon the flesh, the newborn babe was swaddled in the skins. Impressed by the timely relief, his mother improved the occasion by naming the boy *Gauda*. There is a tale of another woman who gave birth to a child in the middle of the summer, when the sun with its rays most scorches earth and cattle, so that the earth is parched and the udders of the cattle are empty of milk. The young mother, beholding her own dry breasts, was touched with pity, and gave to her daughter the name *Bithathe*, a word compounded of *Bi*, milk, and *Thathe*, lack. Surely a very happy choice of name.

Any father who is well stocked with cattle again offers sacrifice on the occasion of a birth; the mother and babe are smeared in the fat of the victim, which is warmed by the priest; and they are sprinkled with bochu in the manner described. After the birthday feast the husband takes himself off for a week or two, and until the infant has been taken from the breast or weaned, he does not sleep again with his wife even if it be for a whole year.³⁵⁾ He always sleeps away from her when she is with child. In the meantime he goes with concubines, paying homage to a roving love, for these natives generally have several wives, each living separately in her own hut, looking after the household and scrupulously obedient to her husband's commands. They vie with one another in flattering him with word and look, and he embraces now one, now another, for a space of two nights or three, according to the passion,

tots, but to be derived from the account given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa. They say: "As soon as a woman is confined in childbed, her husband must stay away from the hut for 12 to 14 days, and not sleep with his wife as long as she is suckling the child, even if it be for a year. In the meantime he must console himself with his other wives" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.* iii, 64).

hacque vicissitudine varietateque voluptatum libidinibus novos stimulos quaerit *φιλογύνης*, immorigeram verò delumbat, et pravitate incorrigibilem repudiat.

Si masculum vitalem enixa, pater ei fordam dono dat, infantariaeque in mandatis, ut tam proprio quam bestiae lacte gnatum nutriat, et qua par est sollicitudine educat, et de accrescendo illius peculio curam gerit. Filiam parienti puerperae maritus eadem quae tollens filium injungit, sed bucculam quam alendae filiolae credidit, quum illa tantarum virium est, ut sponte sua, nulliusque ope ex uterulo sitim lacte, aquâ, buâ, cellâ aut cervisia sedare valet, cum vitulo protinus reliquo armento suo aggregat. Duram horridamque vitam agentibus sterilitatem parit, et vix adolesecntes, jam effoetae; hunc, ut opinio mea fert, gentis infrequentia.

Solem tanquam auctorem omnis boni venerantur, et magni faciunt, Lunam verò flocci, illum Sorè, hanc Cha vocant, eodemque vocabulo ipsis etiam merda venit, imputantes fortè illi omnes tam hominum quam pecudum morbos, caeli inclementiam, et cujusque generis calamitatum scaturiginem, quae dum plena est, feminae menstruorum purgationibus laborantes, illi aegritudinis hujus causam adscribunt; divaricatis cruribus erectae stantesque mingunt: viri flexis genibus, et clunibus prope talos depressis lotium reddunt, neuterque sexus crepitum ventre aut ructum edit: cujus vitii insolentiam Europaeis non injuriâ acerbè satis exprobrant. Et pretiosissima eorundem monilia, ex tenuissimo filo, acu texta, plurisque empta, quam maximi pecudum greges veneunt, nullum alium usum, commodum, utilitatemque habentia, praeterquam eum quem luxus fingit, venenato joco circumcisè explodunt, dum ipsi praecordiorum intestinorumque ex collo pendentium virtute et pinguedine mactati pecudis, nostratibus tantopere exsibilatis medicamentis, nonnunquam morbos depellunt, et averruncant.

³⁶⁾ These sentences also refer to the AmaXhosa: "If a woman bears a son, the father gives her a cow with its calf, whose offspring she must preserve for the benefit of the child; if she bears a daughter, she also receives a cow and a calf, but as soon as the child can drink out of the common milk vessels, the father takes the cattle back" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii. 65).

affection, or gratitude inspired by each. By this constant round of varied pleasures his appetite is freshly whetted. A disobedient wife he beats, one whose badness is beyond reform he puts away.

If a woman bear a live male, the father makes her a present of a cow that is with calf, and the mother is instructed to rear the boy on her own milk and that of the beast; and he brings him up with due care, and sees to it that his property increases. If a woman bear a daughter, the husband gives the same commands to her as when acknowledging a son; but when the child is strong enough to be able of its own accord and unaided to allay its thirst from a vessel with milk, water, or beer, he forthwith joins the cow which he gave for the nourishment of his daughter, together with its calf, to the rest of his herd.³⁶⁾ The women lead a hard, rough life which produces barrenness; they are scarcely adolescent before they are effete. This is in my judgment the reason for the smallness of the population.

They worship the sun and value it highly as the author of all good. The moon they despise. They call the sun *sore*, the moon *cha*, the latter being also their word for dung. It seems as if they imputed to the moon all diseases of men and beasts, the inclemency of the sky, and the prevalence of disasters of every kind.³⁷⁾ When the moon is full, women who are in their monthly courses blame it for their illness.

[The women stand up and part their legs to make water; the men bend their knees and almost touch their ankles with their hams. Neither sex breaks wind or belches. They express their disgust pretty sharply, and not without excuse, when they meet this fault in Europeans.³⁸⁾] They also condemn with curt and biting ridicule the precious necklaces of the Europeans, strung with a needle on a slender thread, bought for a greater price than the largest flocks of sheep, and having no other use, convenience, or value than that fictitious one that luxury provides. Yet they themselves sometimes banish or avert diseases by the power of entrails and intestines which they hang round their necks, and by the fat of slaughtered beasts, remedies greatly scoffed at by our countrymen.

³⁷⁾ On the Hottentot beliefs relating to the sun and the moon, see above, pp. 138, 141. (The Naman use the terms *sore*s for the sun, and *//kxab* for the moon; and so do the Koranna, so that G. is obviously referring to the Hottentots. He is wrong, however, in stating that the same word is used for "dung" as for "moon." The former, in Nama, is *xoub*.)

³⁸⁾ The passages within square brackets are omitted by van Oordt in his Dutch translation of G.'s MS.

A Judaeis circumcisionem, non praeputii, sed graviolem cuticulae ad imum ventrem usque resectae, mutuatos dices eos, qui abdita regionis inhabitant: et ab his eos qui nobis propinqui, didicisse sinistri colei (honore dicto) excisionem: utrosque autem omnes ritus tam sacerdotales quam sacrificales, meram antiquitatem redolentes, ab Israëlitis, tot licet saeculorum intervallo obumbratos, traxisse, quis adeo lusciosus ut non videat?

Si quis nostrorum Barbarorum virilia sua popae ejusque secespitae, clunaculo, aut excisorio scalpello subjicere abnuens, mavult genitalia numero et mensura juxta naturae legem integra sibi conservare, quàm se doloribus excruciamdum et quadantenus emasculandum praebere, hunc omnis diminutionis inimicum, per opprobrium arietem vocant, eumque ab omni societate hereditateque excludentes, tanquam fulguritum fugiunt: alii incisurâ in scroto factâ particulam cutis testiculo dextro abscindunt, suoque loco repositum, et vulnere curato, sui juris ephebum faciunt.

Afri circa trigesimam secundam Australis Poli graduum inclinationem, et prope Lusitanis Natalem dictam, degentes, insigni pompa, et splendidiore ocliferio circumcisionis sacra celebrant: quippe in propatulo et patente campo, flaminiam plus mille passibus ab omni habitatione secretam, annuam exstruunt, quo totius regionis praetextati circumcidendi confluunt, omnibusque rite praeparatis pontifex seu hariolus penis cuticulam sub Jove frigido juvenibus deglubit, eamque pube lanugineque tenus abscindit, mox adipe plagam recutitis ungit, eique involucra cujusdam bulbi, à caepe tunicis non multum abludentibus, applicat, et dumtaxat percuratis hinc egredi, et tum demum cum parentibus, amicis, et puellabus loqui fas est, quorum cautio est, ne miserè excruciatibus cibus aut potus, ceteraque necessaria, per flaminem subministranda in trimestre desit: transactâque hac indictiva duplicatae quadragenariae stationis morâ, quisque tripudians domum revertitur, adultus virorum numero accensetur, multoque amplexu et convivio, remotis mulieribus, exceptum, sui juris faciunt, excedentique jam ex ephebis, ad omnia uxorem ducere patiuntur.

³⁹⁾ On the alleged semi-castration of the Hottentots, see above p. 142 n.

⁴⁰⁾ This paragraph is derived almost literally from the accounts of the "Stavenisse" crew (see Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii 64-65, 94). It is a highly condensed but substantially accurate description of a custom still found among the AmaXhosa.

It must be supposed that it is from the Jews that the inhabitants of the remoter parts have learned the practice of circumcision,³⁸⁾ [although it is a more serious operation with the Africans, involving the cutting away not only of the prepuce but of the skin right up to the base of the abdomen. From the Jews also the natives near us must have acquired the practice of removing the left testicle, if you will excuse the mention of it.³⁹⁾ Indeed who is so blind as not to see that it is from the Israelites that both divisions of Hottentots have derived all their sacerdotal and sacrificial rites, which are redolent of the purest antiquity, though admittedly the lapse of so many centuries has obscured the connection. .

Should any of our Hottentots refuse to subject his male members to the sacrificial blade or lancet or operating knife of the priest, preferring to preserve his genital organs perfect in the shape and number provided by nature rather than submit himself to agonies of pain and a partial castration, this enemy of all amputation is insulted by the name of "ram," shut out from all fellowship and inheritance, and shunned as if blasted by the lightning of heaven. The others make an incision in the scrotum, cut away a little skin from the right testicle, send the young man home(?), and when the wound is cured regard him as his own master.

The Africans who live at about the thirty-second parallel of the degrees of the South Pole and near to the place called Natal by the Portuguese celebrate the rite of circumcision with notable display and brilliant éclat. Every year they build, in a wide spreading plain, a sacred booth more than a mile away from every habitation. To it flock the youths of the whole district to be circumcised; and when all preparations have been duly made the priest or prophet, under the open sky, draws back the skin of the penis of each youth and cuts it away as far as the hair on the pubis. He then anoints the wound with fat, and applies to it a wrapping of some bulb with coats not very different from those of an onion. Only when they are cured may they leave the booth; only then are they permitted to talk with parents, friends, and girls, whose business it is to secure that food and drink and other necessities, to be dealt out by the priest, should not fail the poor sufferers for the space of three months. When this compulsory inactivity of twice forty days has gone by, each returns dancing home, and being now adult is numbered among the men. The women are sent away, while he is welcomed with many embraces and much good cheer. He is now his own master, and having left the ranks of the youths is given full liberty to take a wife].⁴⁰⁾

A majoribus suis hostias victimasque ferire aegris, neogamis, et sanciendis foederibus barbaros Agones didicisse, à vero non abhorret.

Ablutionum, purificationum, purgationum, et sponsaliorum, aliaque plenilunio genialiter festa celebrare, et hilaria haec, nuptialiumque fescennina, ferias, jocosque praeficarum naeniis funebribus justis, epulisque feralibus interpolare, variaque sacra, et foedera sacrare gentilitia unde habeant, tardum est dictu, ipsimetque ignorant.

Haec opinio apud Afros nostros obtinet, hacque superstitione infecta gens, ut credat neminem morbo, suo fato, aut sicca morte vitâ defungi, sed omnes veneficio interimi, nisi qui armis hostilibus cecidere: aut qui à feris dilacerati, vel ab anguibus morsi, aut ab aliis venenatis animalibus puncti occubuere. Hinc saepius, ubi aliquem ex aegritudine mors consequitur, fatidicum (verius falsidicum) ii, qui prope terram Natalem morantur, conveniunt, eumque quis donatum veneficio è medio sustulerit percunctantur, qui prout ei in mentem venit, et spes, dolor, ira aut invidia dictat, aliquem denunciat: et quemcumque hic Calchas crimine falso fictique flagitii insimulat, quamvis patrem, filium, aut fratrem, aliumve defuncto proximum, amicum, aut vicinum, hunc ilicò Magi dicto fidem habentes, sine ulla causae perquisitione, aut altiore indagine, inauditum, indefensum, ad supplicium rapiunt, poenamque trahentes, in publica via supinum nudumque, manibus pedibusque vinctis et in terram defossis, radiis solaribus, nocturno frigori, adstantium praetereuntiumque contumeliis ludibrisque fatigandum exponunt, illiusque ventri quandoque nidum formicarum rubentium imponunt, quae vivi viscera rodunt, ubi mille tortus modis, sub teterrimo cruciatu expirat. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!*

It is very probable that it is from their own ancestors the native priests learned the practice of slaughtering victims large and small in the case of sickness, marriage, and the ratifying of treaties.

It is difficult to say, and they themselves do not know, whence they got the custom of celebrating merrily under the full moon feasts of ablution, purification, purgation, betrothal, and others, and of varying these jollifications and the licensed holidays and sports of marriage festivals with regular funereal dirges of mourning women and banquets for the dead, and of performing various rites and covenants.

An opinion that obtains among our Africans,⁴¹⁾ a superstitious belief which infects the race, is that nobody departs this life by disease, by destiny, by a natural death, but they believe that all are taken off by poison, except those who fall at the hands of the enemy, or are torn by wild beasts, or bitten by snakes, or stung by some other poisonous animal. Consequently when someone dies after an illness it often happens, among those who live near Natal, that they consult a soothsayer (more properly a false-sayer) and ask him who removed the dead man from among them by poison. The witch-doctor then denounces somebody, just as it comes into his head, at the bidding of hope, annoyance, anger or jealousy. Whoever this Calchas accuses on a false charge of an imaginary crime, be he father, son, brother or other near relative, friend or neighbour of the deceased, him straightway, never doubting the witchdoctor's word, without examining into the case or making any further enquiry, unheard, undefended, they hale away to punishment, and, prolonging his torture, naked, on his back in the public road, with his hands and feet bound and buried in the earth, they expose him to the rays of the sun, to the chill of night, to the mockery and insults of spectators and passers-by, till he be worn out by them, and sometimes upon his belly they put a nest of red ants, which gnaw the flesh of the living man, when, after innumerable tortures he dies in hideous agony. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

⁴¹⁾ This description of witchcraft and its punishment is again taken almost verbatim from the accounts given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the AmaXhosa (cf. Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 63). Condensed as it is even in the original, the description is on the whole very accurate. Soga (*op. cit.*, 180) describes a form of punishment of sorcerers identical with that mentioned in the text, and gives additional details (omitted by G.) which are also mentioned in the "Stavenisse" accounts.

Miratusque saepius cum Catone, quomodo haruspex haruspicem absque risu intueri possit: stupendaque res quod viri, animo viriumque validi, manu strenui, et fenum in cornu, nec venam publicam habentes, impunè sibi ab improbis his nebulonibus, superbia, insolentia, ignorantia, arrogantiaque elatis, imponi patiantur: qui in leonem aliudve animal (mirabili metamorphosi si Diis placet!) sese versipelles transfigurare, tempestatem, pluviam, grandinem, ventos, tonitrua fulguraque subito ciere, siderum motus observare, futuraque praedicere, veraque se vaticinari, divinitus scire, turpi venditione jactitant. Et ne nostrates horum insidiis injuriisque obnoxii forent, inter ipsos unanimi consensu convenerat, ut de veneno rogati regerent, Europaeis toxica planè ignota esse: qua arte harioli dolis laqueisque vafre eludentes obviamque euntes, tuti in Magosis vixere, nec quotidie cum Orco rationem ponendam habuere.

Validis viribus incurvare baculum, elique intendere chordam, eademque semper oberrare, adhaec gracili modulare avenâ, calamoque agresti ludere, terrestres maritimosque inflare tubulos auloedi mares cisalpini gnaviter sciunt: sed eorum feminae cantilenam patriumque carmen semper ferme idem sylvestri musâ, aliâque voce cantando, corium ollae superinductum et intentum, fasciis lorisque obvinctum palmis pulsare, iisque alternis vicibus plaudere, concentu Europaeorum auribus ingrato, tympanistriae decussatis cruribus humi sedentes, mox oculis in coelum et lunam versus sublatis, mox iisdem in terram et ollam lacte plenam defixis, apprime suo ritu et incondito ingeminato clamore ululatuque, et musicè aetatem agere, norunt.

Interiora regionis Aethiopiae confinia frequentibus multisque habitantur pagis, quorum amoenitate indigenae detinentur, et advenae omnium rerum copia, terraeque ubertate alliciuntur. Quo A° 1686 navis Stavenisse naufragi se recipientes, tanta comitate, fide et benevolentia a

⁴²⁾ On the musical instruments and entertainments of the Hottentots, so sketchily referred to by G., cf. Schapera, *op cit.*, 400 ff; and among contemporary writers, Dapper (p. 77 above), Schreyer, *op. cit.*, chap. xvi; and Kolb, 527 ff.

⁴³⁾ On the wreck of the "Stavenisse" (Feb. 16, 1686), see above p. 166. As already mentioned, the accounts given by the survivors

I have often wondered with Cato how soothsayer can look at soothsayer without laughing; and it is an amazing thing that men, strong in mind and body, active with their hands, dangerous fellows, and of no common quality, should tamely allow themselves to be imposed on by these sorry rascals, swollen with overweening pride and ignorant arrogance. For these shameless braggarts give out that they are wizards and can transform themselves into a lion or any other animal (a wonderful metamorphosis indeed); that they can in a moment summon storm, rain, hail, winds, thunder and lightning; and that they have supernatural knowledge and can foretell the future and prophesy truth. Our countrymen, in order to avoid entanglement in their wicked plots, had come to a unanimous agreement among themselves that if questioned about poison they would reply that Europeans are absolutely ignorant of such things. By this trick they cunningly escaped and countered the wiles and snares of the witch-doctors, and lived safely among the Magosi without the necessity of taking the next world into their daily calculations.

The male musicians among those on the hither side of the mountains shew great ingenuity in bending a stick with their great strength, stretching a string upon it, and fumbling continually upon the same; and they are skilled to breathe an air upon the oaten flute, sport upon the rustic reed, or wake the music of such pipes as land or sea affords. Their women with uncouth art and in a strange voice sing a native lay or descant that rarely varies, beating the while with their palms upon a skin stretched tightly over a pot and fastened with bands and thongs, or else clapping their hands together. The harmony is not pleasing to European ears, as these women sit cross-legged with their tom-toms on the ground, now raising their eyes towards heaven and the moon, now gazing upon the earth or upon a pot full of milk, while they exercise their native skill in the rude and incessant shouting and wailing which constitutes their manner of musical entertainment.⁴²⁾

In the interior of the country bordering on Ethiopia are many populous districts, the charm of which detains the native inhabitants, while strangers are allured by the abundance of all things and the richness of the soil. Thither in the year 1686 the shipwrecked crew of the *Stavenisse* betook themselves,⁴³⁾ and were received with such courtesy, good faith, and kindness by the natives,

on reaching the Cape were transcribed for the official records by G. himself, and it is sufficiently evident from his text to what an extent he drew upon them.

Barbaris xenodocho et agape, aut privato hospitio excepti, ut nonnulli Batavorum his delinimentis imbuti, et beneficiis benevolentiaeque significatione alligati, maluerint illic rerum suarum fortunam, et stabile stabulum figere, quam cum faselo episcopio, Patrum Societatis nostrae jussu eo amandato, ad suos redire: testantes palam se nunquam liberalius domi paternae tractatos, nec laribus maternis benigniori amplexu exceptos, nusquam majoribus blanditiis illecebrisque delinitos, quam in hospita hac terra: addentes fortibus omne solum natale, nec aliud ipsos votis ambire, quam illud, in quo fatis monstrantibus, et manifesto numine, cum maxime sedes quietas inveniunt: Belgium sibi fortuito arbitrioque parentum patriam obvenisse, adscititiam hanc instinctu motuque proprio ipsos sibimet eligere: quibus dictis epibatas longum valere jubent, et solventibus vela, auram secundam, ventisque ferentibus rectum sulcum felicissimo cursu ducant, et tanquam viali lare in petitum portum ferantur optant: quantum conjectura perspicio, nunquam factum mutaturi, aut infectum optaturi, et hoc solo nomine culpandos vereor, ne festorum dierum et avitae religionis obliti, Barbarorumque sacris initiati, iisque famulantes neophyti, tandem à vero Numine et Christo quem professi, ejusque genuino cultu desciscant, adaeque ac Lusitanus quidam, qui A° 1652 aerae Christianorum ex India veniens, illic naufragium passus, cujus navis tabulae, tormenta bellica, anchorae, plurima ejusdem armamenta in littore injuriis temporum, maris aestibus, vetustatique omnium confectrici resistentia adhuc cernuntur: qui circumcisis proselytus, cum indigena connubio junctus, ex qua liberos sustulit, et in re lauta cum suis, patriae linguae, et aviti in Deum O.M. cultus oblitus vivit: hinc liquet quanti Europaeos faciant, quibus non solum

⁴⁴) This probably refers to the fact that when the "Centaurus," sent for that purpose from the Cape, picked up the party of survivors near the mouth of the Buffalo R., three of the latter could not be found, so it was believed that they preferred to remain with the natives and were therefore purposely keeping out of the way. The vessel accordingly set sail without them. There is no record of the magniloquent farewell with which G. credits them. (Theal, *op. cit.*, ii, 298; Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 90-91).

⁴⁵) "In all the time of their stay in that country," said the survivors of the "Stavenisse," they found but one European, an old Portuguese, in the country of the Mapontes [Ama Mpondo]; he had been shipwrecked there about 40 years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and, as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannon are still to be found there. This Portuguese had been

whether at the public table or in private homes, that several of the Dutch, touched by such grateful entertainment, and bound by the benefits they had received and the display of goodwill, resolved to hazard their fortune among them and there set up their rest, rather than return to their fellows on the vessel which, at the order of the Council of the Company, was sent thither to look for them.⁴⁴) Thereby they openly testified that they had never in their father's house met more generous entertainment, nor been more kindly entreated at their mother's table, nor experienced anywhere more soft and winning ways than in this friendly land. They added thereto that the whole earth was the fatherland of brave men, and that they sought no other land for themselves than that in which, by the finger of fate and the manifest will of God, they had been led to the discovery of a supremely peaceful home. Holland, they said, had fallen to them as a fatherland by the accident of chance and the choice of their parents; this adopted land they had chosen for themselves at the prompting of their own will. Which said, they bid the voyagers a long farewell, praying that a favourable breeze might fill their sails, and that with a carrying wind on a straight course they might have as prosperous a voyage to the desired haven as if they were on the king's highway. And well assured am I that they would never repent their choice nor wish undone what was done. In one particular alone do I fear lest they should deserve blame, to wit, if they should forget their holy days and ancestral religion, and being initiate in the rites of the natives and submitting to them as converts, should at length fall away from the genuine worship of the true God and Christ which once they professed.

This was what happened to a certain Portuguese who, in the year of Our Lord 1652, on his way back from India, was wrecked in this place. Ship's planks, guns, anchors, and much gear are still to be seen upon the shore, defying the spite of the weather, the tides of the sea, and the tooth of time. But the man has become a convert and been circumcised; he has been joined in wedlock with a native woman and raised children by her; and he lives prosperously among his own, forgetful of his native language and the ancestral worship of the great and good God.⁴⁵) Hence we can learn what store the natives set by Europeans, to whom they not only give their daughters in

circumcized, and had a wife, children, cattle and land, and spoke only the African language, having forgotten everything, his God included." (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 67; Eng. trans. in Moodie, *Record*, 431).

filias suas in matrimonium dant, sed et eos insuper variis muneribus, observantia et beneficiis sibi devinciunt, eorundemque dictis tanquam legi auscultant.

Sed heus! hic mihi neutiquam silentio praetereundus miserabilis puer, inter pauca fortunae exempla memorandus, ob tristia, et levi penicillo adumbranda, quae undique Guilielmum Chenut, vix duodecennem Gallum circumstitere fata, ingenuis parentibus in Aquitania genitum, honesto loco natum, et liberaliter educatum, institutumque, cui fortè obvenerat singularis exempli patruus, in Suprema curia Burdegalae Vibiscorum famâ, probitate et scientiâ clarus celeberrime causidicus, qui recusans in sacros ritus Regis Galliarum Ludovici XIV jurare, A° Virginei partus (ni fallor) 1684 omnibus ejus subditis Reformatam profitentibus Religionem obtrusos: doctrinae et instituti à majoribus suis ipsi traditae tenax, mavult natale solum patriosque relinquere extorris lares, quam sententiam suam de Dei cultu, à patribus acceptam, in gratiam quorundam cucullatorum de fidei mysteriis balbutientium, vel tantillum mutare: hinc protinus cum impedimentis conquirat navem, eamque omni apparatu et commeatu instructam collectis vasis, rutisque caesis receptis cum suis nepteque Guilielmo conscendit, et Garumnâ ventoque secundis Cantabricum ingreditur profugus mare, novas tutioresque aerumnis suis quaesiturus sedes, sed proh dolor! vana spe, eum subeuntem portum in insula Cerne, Lusitanus Praetor quaesitis coloribus et veteratoria arte, heu pietas! heu prisca fides! nil tale veritum, immeritumque carceri impingit. Guilielmus diro suorum casui illachrymans, diu quid fugiat quidque sequatur anceps, tandem animum per omnia versans, casu et quasi Numinis ductu instinctuque in quendam Anglum incidit, cujus opem implorat, qui malis Gallorum indolens, miseratusque sortis pueri, eum bono

⁴⁶⁾ He was one of the men picked up by the "Centaurus" on Feb. 9, 1688. The log book of that vessel reports of him that he "had embarked at Madeira in an English Company's ship, called the *Boede*, and that, (near this place), he had been ordered into the boat, with a pilot and other men, to look for a haven, and having lost the ship had been driven hither, and that while some of the crew were about to cook their victuals in a tent raised on the beach, the others having gone for firewood and water, they were discovered by a woman and soon after overpowered by the Caffers, who killed three men, one of whom was the pilot, the four others escaped, but to this day the boy found himself alone" (Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 87-90; Eng. trans. in Moodie, *op. cit.*, 425). The much fuller details given by G. were no doubt obtained at first hand from the boy himself after the latter was brought to the Cape; but it should be noted that G's account of the attack by the natives (see below) does not correspond fully with that just quoted.

marriage, but bind them to themselves in addition by various gifts, by complaisance, and by benefits, and by obeying their word as law.

But here, alas! I am reminded of the unhappy youth, William Chenut, whose story cannot be passed over in silence, for there are few to match it in the annals of misfortune, by reason of the tragic destiny, here only to be sketched lightly, which overtook him in his twelfth year⁴⁶⁾. Born in Aquitaine in France, of parents of good family and in an honourable station, he received the training and education of a gentleman. Among his blessings was the possession of an uncle of singular goodness, a busy lawyer, distinguished in the Supreme Court of Bordeaux for his reputation, honesty and learning. This uncle refused to conform to the worship of the French king, Louis XIV, which, unless I am mistaken, was in the year 1684⁴⁷⁾ forced upon all his subjects who professed the Reformed religion. Adhering firmly to the teaching and practice handed down to him by his ancestors, he preferred to leave his native land and go as an exile from his father's house, rather than vary in aught from the opinion of the true worship of God, which he had received from his fathers, in deference to the babblings of some monks about the mysteries of the faith. He forthwith procured a ship, thoroughly equipped and provisioned it, and having collected his baggage and sold his estate went on board with his family and his nephew William. Down the Garonne sailed the exile with the wind behind him and out into the Cantabrian sea bound for a new home that would bring him relief from his troubles. But, alas for this disappointment, the hope proved vain; for as he sailed into harbour in the island of Cerne*, the Portuguese governor, on a far-fetched charge and with practised cunning (alas for the piety, alas for the honour of the good old days!), clapped him into prison, though he little expected any such thing and as little deserved it.

William, weeping bitterly over the mischance that had overtaken his people, for long remained doubtful what course to pursue. At length, turning everything over and over in his mind, he met by chance, or may we not say by the guidance of divine providence, with a certain Englishman whose help he begged. Indignant at the misdeeds of the French, and pitying the boy's lot, his new friend bid him be of good cheer, put him on his ship which

⁴⁷⁾ Sic. The Edict of Nantes was revoked in October, 1685.

* Van Oordt thinks Madeira may be meant. I have no better suggestion. B.F.

animo esse jubet, navique sua, non procul inde in anchoris stante exceptum, benigneque habitum in Americam Novamque Anglicam commodum defert. Unde Indiam Orientalem versus vela facturus, socium itineris periculorumque suorum, imò mortis testem futurum Guilielmum avehendum assumit, cumque littus orientale Africae adnavigans, mari tranquillo, caeloque sereno, conspectu jucundissimae amoenissimaeque plagae invitatus in scapham, cupidus eam propius visendi, descendit: escendentem in terram inexploratam cum sociis, Barbari ex insidiis latebrisque inermibus assiliunt incautosque trucidant, accurrunt illico feminae gratulationae suis de tragico patrato scelere, quae dum oculos dira caede Britannorum pascuntur, in tempore vident Guilielmum gravem vulneribus suo suorumque cruori immersum nondum expirasse. Miseratione permotae, bene animatae et paratae, sublatum, in proximum tectum cupidissime deferunt, vulnera abstersa alligant, fomenta corpori admovent, probèque litum, cibo potuque reficiunt, sedulaque opera praestant, ne quid advenae desit, quem ipse *Regulus Tokhe* appellatus, quattuor filiis vicinis omnibus, etiam remotioribus Barbaris, et nonnullis custodibus stipatus visit, alloquioque suo dignatur, et discedens saucium secum habitatum veniat, civiliter invitat, verbisque his munera quaedam auctarii loco adjicit: cujus exemplo excitati adstantes Gallum, jam omnibus acceptissimum, brevi pecurosum opulentumque et in calamitate felicem reddunt, dum hic bovem, ille vaccam, iste juvenculam, alius vitulum ei dono dat, et quisquis certatim munuscula approbo infelicique puero plena manu largitur: O meritò dilecte Deo! Cressaque ne careat Dies nota!

Tandem persanatus et athleticè valens cum hospitis sui filio deambulatum foras procedit, qui fortè adolescentiae fervore, invidiâ, aut alio lubricae aetatis vitio raptus, nil tale merentis inopinatò vulnere gemino coxam telo transfodit; vide, sis, volumina sortis humanae et ut miserum Fortuna tenaciter arguet, Fatigue illuctabilis tenor infelicem

was riding at anchor near by, and, with kindly entertainment, conveyed him to New England in America. His intention was to voyage thence to the East Indies, and he again took William on board, to be the companion of his travels and dangers, and, as it turned out, the witness of his death. For as they sailed along the east coast of Africa, on a calm sea under a clear sky, lured by the sight of that smiling and pleasant land and desiring a nearer view of it, the captain with some members of his company got into the ship's boat. But as they disembarked upon this unknown shore, the natives sprang out of ambush, fell upon them and cut them down unarmed and off their guard. Then the women ran up to congratulate the men upon the dreadful scene they had enacted, and as they feasted their eyes upon the slaughtered bodies of the Englishmen, in due course they spied William, seriously wounded and bathed in his own blood and that of his friends, but not yet dead. Touched with pity at the sight, and being now well disposed to help him, they raised him up, bore him eagerly to the nearest roof, washed his wounds, poulticed him and anointed him, and restored him with food and drink. They spared no pains to see that the stranger should lack for naught. Even the king himself, whose name was *Tokhe*⁴⁸), came with his four sons, all his neighbours, some natives also from distant parts, and a company of guards to visit the sick man, and condescended to hold converse with him; and at his departure, politely entreated him that he would come and live with him, and not only bespoke him thus civilly but gave him gifts to boot. Roused by this example all those that stood by followed suit. The Frenchman was now in great favour with all, and, one giving him an ox and another a cow, this man a heifer and that a bull-calf, in a trice they made him rich in cattle and goods and as happy as he could be in his misfortune, as they vied with one another, running up full-handed, to bestow their gifts on the youth they now pitied and loved. O man deservedly beloved of God! Let this day not lack its white mark.

He was at length cured and restored to vigorous health. Then one day when he was going a walk with the son of his host, the latter carried away by youthful passion, either jealousy or some other weakness incidental to this treacherous period of life, suddenly, without the least provocation, stabbed him twice with his spear in the hip. Consider, reader, the revolutions of human destiny, and

⁴⁸) The great chief of the AmaXhosa about this time was named *Togu* (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 19), which may possibly be identified with this *Tokhe*. *Togu* died approximately 1686.

persequatur! Nullo titulo factum enorme excusantem, aetate, viribus, staturâ armisque longè sibi praestantem, solo animo superior male feriatum ex vulnere validus, non dubitanter converrit, qui probè fugillatus lumbisque fuste contusis domum se proripit, querelasque ad patrem calumniator defert, insontemque criminatur. Hic totus teres atque rotundus, justitiaeque tenax premit altum corde suum filiique dolorem, nihil tamen statuendum censet, nisi alterâ parte auditâ. Nostras saucius claudusque attrepidat. Inquirenti hospiti, rem omnem articulatim, libera bile exponit: qui convictum criminis falsique filium in officio continendum, primò severissimis verbis, mox acrioribus verberibus, iudex nostratibus aemulandus corrigit, docetque neminem confictis criminibus premendum nec suum flagitium aliis objectandum, horrenda haec esse peccata, iisque omnem humanam consocietatem dissolvi, additque alteri non faciendum quod sibi factum nolit. Hospitii jura sarta tecta servanda: adoptatitium hunc filium fraterno amore, omnibus officiis, studio, humanitate benevolentiaque sibi complectendum discat, sciatque vulnera ad mensuram non infligi, et potuisse ejus vitio et culpa innoxium necari advenam. O! Cedro digna; quibus dictis in mutuam gratiam reductos dimittit, Barbarus nomine, sed re multis Christianis humanior, *Sotope* nomen ferens, quibusdam etiam *Sesse* dictus.

Noster jam secundo consanescens belle se habet, caritate cum primis in parentes, cognatosque, et dulcedine natalis soli ductus, libertatisque rerumque desiderio, quas homines vel vita aestimant, vel morte redimunt, trahitur, solâque spe revivendae aliquando patriae se sustentat, linguaeque barbarorum peritus, multa de origine, legibus, moribusque hujus gentis, eamque Magoses appellari, aliaque scitu digna,

⁴⁹⁾ He was probably a local headman, as his name does not occur in the extensive lists of Xhosa chiefs recorded by Soga (*The S.E. Bantu*, passim).

how persistently Fortune persecutes the wretched, how the irresistible urge of Fate oppresses the hapless. When the perpetrator of this atrocious deed offered no excuse, William revenged himself upon him. Superior only in courage, and with a strength born of his wound, he, without a moment's hesitation, tackled his wanton assailant, who was older, stronger, taller and better armed; he sent him to the right about and cudgelled him black and blue, whereupon the latter ran helter skelter to his father with a pack of lies to lodge a complaint against the innocent victim of his attack. The father, a flawless character and staunch upholder of justice, although he felt deeply the injury to himself and his son, yet decided that nothing should be done without hearing the other side. Then the European stumbled in wounded and limping, and in reply to the enquiries of his host he gave a full and free description of the whole affair. The king then, finding his son guilty of assault and perjury, ordered him to be detained in court, and gave him first a severe reprimand and then a severe thrashing. As a judge he might serve as a model to our countrymen; for he laid it down that nobody should be convicted on a false charge, that it is wrong to shift the blame for one's misdeeds on to the shoulders of another, for these are dreadful sins which break up the whole framework of human society. "Do not do to others," he said, "what you would not they should do to you. Keep the laws of hospitality inviolate. Learn to regard this adopted son of mine with a brotherly love, and treat him with all duty, zeal, kindness and goodwill; and realise that you have been lightly punished, for you might through your wickedness and folly have killed an innocent stranger." O memorable words! When they had been spoken, he dismissed the pair, now restored to amity, he, who was in name a savage but in fact more humane than many Christians. His name was *Sotope*; by some he was called also *Sesse*.⁴⁹⁾

Our hero now had a second recovery and was again in fine trim. But he began to be drawn by love for parents and relations, by the remembered charm of his native land, and by the desire for liberty and all those things which men value as much as life and will purchase with their death. At length he lived only in the hope of revisiting his fatherland. Being now skilled in the native tongue he learned much of their origin, laws, and customs, and, together with much else worth knowing, that they were

discit, et huic quattuor populos confines esse, videlicet Matimbos, Embos, Mapontes, et Makriggas, hosque novissimos bellicosissimos, raptuque vivere, tandem auditione et fama accipit, varios Europaeos (quos Melunke vocant) non procul inde quaquaversum dispersos degere, hos protinus invisit, qui pari patriae amore flagrant, facillè de suscipiendo itinere in hoc Promontorium conveniunt, statimque condicunt locum, definiuntque diem coeundi: dictum, factum: compactò hi panem, illi farinam, isti carnem tam recentem, quam fumo induratum aut sale conspersam, aliaque salsamenta et cibaria, reliqua arma, similiaque viae auxilia conquirunt, et in commune convasant, et quisque hospitis sui aedes, quanquam optimè de eo meriti compilat, pari modo quo Israëlitae Aegyptios mare Erythraeum vadentes despoliant: quid moliantur, quidque machinentur advenae, barbaris facile subdolet, qui obvii et expositi, quoscunque periculi instantis certiores faciunt, blandèque suadent ineptire desinant, ostendentes vix caelo venien(ti)bus avibus viam quam meditantur stolidi[s] paten(tem), intuta esse omnia et insessa à ferocissima gente, latrociniiis addicta: sed nihil his moti, tanquam addicti et consecrati destinata morte itineri se accingunt: primo caeca viâ ad nos penetrare conantur: sed inexsuperabilia juga montium, praealtis asperibusque silvis inaccessa, latronibusque obsessa vetant, qui coorti armis, numero viribusque longe superiores, obsistentes trucidant, ast arma, commeatum, tegumentaue abjicientibus moderati, nudis

⁵⁰ Magosi = AmaXhosa; Matimbi = AmaThembu (Tembus); Embi = abaMbo (?); Mapontes = amaMpondo; Makriggas = Ama Riligwa = Hottentots (Soga, *S.E. Bantu*, 110); Melunke = abe-Lungu, white people.

called Magosi; also that four peoples were their neighbours, the Matimbi, Embi, Mapontes and Makriggas, the last being very warlike and living on plunder.⁵⁰) Finally the report reached him that various Europeans (whom they call Melunke) lived not far off scattered here and there over the country. These he promptly visited, and finding them burning with an equal love of their fatherland, he easily agreed with them about a joint effort to return to this Cape. They appointed a place, and fixed a day for meeting. The plan was no sooner made than acted on. As arranged some brought bread, others flour, others meat, either fresh or smoked and salted. They collected also other foods, salt and fresh, and arms, and other requirements for the way, and put them in the common store. Each man also robbed the dwelling of his host, although they had been so kindly treated, even as the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians when crossing the Red Sea.

The natives easily got wind of their plotting and planning, and openly opposed them, informing them all of their imminent danger, using their best endeavours to dissuade them from their folly, pointing out to them that the journey they intended was scarcely feasible for birds, that the whole route was unsafe and beset by a blood-thirsty people addicted to brigandage. Nothing daunted by these warnings, like dedicated and devoted men with danger in store for them, they girded themselves for the journey. At first they essayed to get through to us by a secret way, but were prevented by impassable mountain ranges, difficult of approach by reason of forests of tall and prickly trees. The mountains were also beset by robbers, who being far superior in arms, numbers, and strength, barred the way against them and were for slaughtering them; but when they cast away their arms, food and clothing, the brigands spared their lives and suffered them to retrace their steps. Returning home again undismayed by this disaster, they collected much property of their hosts, and being again equipped with everything attempted a second journey, this time through winding valleys. Here they encountered thick, entangling brush, and being assailed on all sides by brigands, again lost all their possessions and were compelled to return to their quarters. Yet even now they did not despair. Again they contrived to equip themselves, and decided to effect a passage close to the sea; again impassable rocks and a warlike people accustomed to live by plunder thwarted them. Whether this people, who now for the third time robbed them of their all, was the same as met them on their former attempts, is not certain. But this much at least is clear that the Africans are so kindly and easy to deal with that when their guests again came

vitam concedunt, iterque relegere patiuntur: qui domum revertentes, clade hac nihil deterriti, multa de rebus hospitem suorum asportantes, omnibusque rebus rursum instructi, iter per valles et ambages iteratò tentant, ubi condensa impeditissimaque nemora, et assilientes undiquaque praedones spoliatos diversiola sua repetere cogunt. Ast ne nunc quidem animum despondentes, apparatu sibi de integro prospiciunt, statuuntque juxta mare iter conficere, sed rupes inviae in littore, et bellicosissima gens, raptò vivere assueta restitere: an illa eadem, quae nostris tertium, nihil de bonis suis reliqui fecit, non constat: illud sanè liquet Afros commercio faciles indulgentissimosque, diversitores suos domum reversos omnibusque rebus exutos, ne verbo quidem inclementiore appellasse, aut vultu contumelioso insequutos, mansuetudine vix primitivae Ecclesiae Christianis notà: sed vae dedecus! in nobis patitur Christus opprobrium, in nobis patitur lex Christiana maledictum! dum nomine tenus Christiani excensu in hanc plagam nonnunquam è navibus facto, miseros incolas blanditiis, et crepundiorum donis pellectos, aut trucidant, aut vinctos plagiarii, in suas naves, alibi magno distrahendos, contrudunt: et quid mirum! si hoc detestabili et infando lucro inescati redeuntes Christiani ab Afriis, cautius mercari doctis, jure talionis sontes cum insontibus caedantur.

Hinc inferre libet, quod nulla gens sit adeò efferà, quae illaesa in innoxium saeviat hominem, eumque ignotum, nudum et inermen necare velit: testorque me vidisse ἀνδροποφάγον (sic) malis meis illachrymantem, commilitonibus quibusdam meis, mihi in calamitate innocenti, inauditâ crudelitate insultantibus. Manus de tabula.

Novissimè famâ accipiunt gentem, Promontorio nostro viciniorem, quotannis catervatim in Magosis (sic vocata regio in qua naufragi nostrates cum maxime hospitantur) tanquam ad mercatum permutandis mercibus confluere: occasio arridet, eamque quoquomodo arripiendam, nilque intentatum relinquendum, censent nostri: qui ubi solito foro institores, non procul illinc adventasse accipiunt, quosdam ex suis exploratum ablegant, iisque in mandatis dant, Afros hos nullâ interpositâ morâ convenient, eorum animos explorent petantque, sibi liceat ipsorum ductu et auspiciis in Promontorium nostrum pervenire. Annuunt mercatores: nostri ad vasa laeti conclamant, ast itineri accinctis meticulousae resistunt barbarae, quae animo à nostratibus abalienato, eos sibi comites itineris, longè accersito colore fictaque specie recusant, maritis blandâ nimis indulgentiâ, erubescendo deformique obsequio, uxorum severitati assentantibus.

back stripped of all they had, they did not address one word of reproach to them or cast at them the least resentful look, thereby exhibiting a charity scarcely known even to the Christians of the primitive church. But, oh, the shame of it! it is by us dishonour is cast upon the name of Christ, by us the law of Christ is made a thing accursed. Christians only in name, ever and anon there disembark upon these shores, men who deceive the natives with soft words and the gift of a few trifles, and then either slaughter them or kidnap them for the slave trade, bind them, thrust them aboard ship and sell them in strange lands at a great price. What wonder then that the Christians, when they return again tempted by this loathsome and unspeakable traffic, find that the natives have become more particular in their dealings, and retaliate by slaying the innocent with the guilty.

Hence it may be inferred that no race is so savage as, unprovoked, to offer violence to an innocent man, or wish to slaughter a stranger, naked and unarmed. And I bear witness that I have seen a cannibal shedding tears at my misfortunes, while companions of mine, with unheard of cruelty, jeered at me in a disaster I had done nothing to deserve. But why paint the lily!

Lastly they got rumour of a race, living near our Cape, who every year came in companies among the Magosi (this is the name of the people of the district in which our shipwrecked fellow-Europeans were principally entertained) as if on a trading expedition for the exchange of goods. The chance was an attractive one; our men decided that it should by all means be seized, and that nothing should be left untried. Accordingly when they learned that the traders had arrived at their usual market place, which was not far distant, they detailed some of their men to make enquiries, and instructed them to get in touch with these natives without delay, to learn the state of their minds, and request permission to journey to our Cape under their guidance and auspices. The traders agreed. Our men then joyfully called to one another to collect their baggage. But when they were ready for the road, the native women became fearful and opposed the project; they distrusted our men and refused to have them as companions of their journey, alleging far-fetched excuses and inventing lying pleas. The over-indulgent husbands, with a base compliance of which they should have been ashamed, yielded to the harsh resolution of their wives.

Jam Europaei deplorato exitu despondent animum, eumque agriculturae et rei pecuariae bona fide applicandum, et revisendae patriae omnem spem decollatam, hincque solo natali extorribus moriendum statuunt. Solus Isbrandus Hogesaad, primarius navis *Stavenisse* olim nauclerus, naviculariae peritissimus, concilio acer, manuque fortis, et ad omnia egregius mihi nominandus occurrit, qui praeter expectationem omnium aliam aggrediendam viam, marique tentandum iter hortatur, monstratque intra annum quatuor Europaeas in isto littore naves pari fato ejectas, earundemque tabulas, caeteraque armamenta extruendae navi sufficientia ad manum, casuque oblata, in sapientiam vertenda esse, et nemora proceris caedisque arboribus plena: Portum Lusitanis Natalem dictum (quia die natalitia Jesus Christi duobus abhinc seculis ab ipsis detectus) non procul inde tutum, omniaque votis prona; adhaec in expedito esse Afrorum sedulam, tenuique mercede conductam operam, eamque non defuturam docet, multasque rationes perveniendi ad exitum sibi propositum profert: in quam sententiam omnes pedibus manibusque transeunt, grandique doloris ingenio, miseris venit solertia rebus, consiliumque exordiuntur: ex obicibus ostiorum quae in foris sunt, et per quae in carinam descenditur, serras, et ex sacra anchora incudem conflant: vela, rudentes, funes, secures, malleos, dolabras, clavos, dolia, malos, reliquaque

⁵¹) G.'s account, as given above, is not in agreement with the available records. From the latter it appears that when the "*Stavenisse*" was wrecked 47 of her crew set out overland towards the Cape. They passed through various Bantu tribes, who treated them well, but also came across some bands of Bushmen, who stripped and robbed them of all they had. "They were naked when they reached the country of the AmaXhosa, where they were received with great compassion and were supplied with food and shelter. Five of them had perished before that time. After resting awhile with the AmaXhosa, they all wished to proceed on their journey westward, but some of them were induced not to do so by being informed that the next people were Bushmen, who would certainly murder them. Twelve of the boldest, however, made the attempt, and report had been received that they had all been killed. Of the 47 men who had left the wreck of the "*Stavenisse*" to travel southward, 17 were dead; 21 were rescued [by the Centaurus], and the fate of the remaining 9 was unknown, but it was supposed that they were still living among the natives in different parts of the country" (Theal, ii, 302-3; Molsbergen, iii, 92-4; Moodie, 426-7). Many of the details given by G. were either obtained orally from the survivors, or are fictitious.

At length the Europeans despaired of a way out and lost heart.⁵¹⁾ They made up their minds to apply themselves in good earnest to tillage and cattle-raising, convinced that every hope of regaining their native land had been knocked on the head, and that they would have to die in exile. Only Isbrand Hogesaad, formerly the captain of the *Stavenisse*, a skilled seaman, bold in counsel and vigorous in action, and an outstanding man all round, claims the tribute of my mention. He surprised everybody by urging them to try another way. "Let us attempt the sea", he cried. "Within a year four European ships have been cast upon this shore. With their timbers and the rest of their gear we have materials at hand for the construction of a ship. What chance has offered must be made to serve the ends of wisdom. The woods also are full of lofty trees ready for the axe. The harbour which the Portuguese call Natal (because they discovered it two centuries ago on the anniversary of the birth of Jesus Christ) offers a safe refuge not far from here. Everything favours our hopes." He pointed out also that they could avail themselves, for a very small return, of the zealous aid of the Hottentots, who would not fail them; and he advanced many plans by which they could reach the goal of their endeavour.⁵²⁾

They all came over to his way of thinking. Their sufferings sharpened their wits, they developed inventiveness in their sad plight, and began the execution of their plan. From the iron bars of the doors in the gangways, and the doors that gave a passage down into the hold of the ship, they managed to make saws. The anchor was turned into an anvil. Sails, cables, ropes, axes, mallets, picks, nails, jars, masts, and all the rest of the flotsam and jetsam of ships that have been dashed against the

⁵²⁾ The credit for building this vessel really belongs to John Kingston, who with some others had been wrecked in the ketch *Good Hope* at Port Natal. The men who remained behind with the wreck of the *Stavenisse* were found by one of these Englishmen and guided to Port Natal, where under the guidance of Kingston they all set to work upon the *Good Hope* and completely rebuilt her, naming the new vessel *Centaurus*, and after purchasing provisions from the local natives they set sail for the Cape on Feb. 17, 1687, reaching it on March 1st. G. is quite wrong in stating that the vessel was built by the party which Chenut had joined. The latter made no attempt at all to build a boat of their own, and in fact were rescued in Feb. 1688 by the *Centaurus* itself, which had been bought from its makers and sent back purposely to look for the remaining survivors. (Theal, ii, 292 pp; Molsbergen and Moodie, *loci. cit.*)

allisarum navium ejectamenta, ferraamenta, instrumenta, et quascunque naufragiorum tristes reliquias corradunt, et in casis quas sibi omnique apparatui et commeatui excipiendo construxere, multa barbarorum opera deponunt: fervet opus sub Isbrando totius negotii curatore, machinamque in aquam deducunt, tanta arte, velocitate ac felicitate elaboratam, ut divina manu arbores in Celocem conversae viderentur, eamque cibaria annona, omnique penu ex proximis vicis instructam conscendunt, et commeatum, quem navis non capit, eum tecto relinquunt, triticum verò Africanum, milio assimilè, de quo supra mentionem injeci, in dolia contrusum, eo quae dixi modo, in terra defodiunt. Imo gregem viginti et amplius decumanorum boum, aperto campo pascere sinunt: quae omnia Argonautae nostri, anno converso, ex mandato Patrum Conscriptorum Societatis nostrae, eò liburnicâ delati, ponderi, numero, et mensura integra, et illaesa, tanquam S. Sancta, et numini alicui dicata, spectatori quam Attica fide, intacta invenerunt. Digna quae marmore caedantur!

Guilielmus noster ne ad aliena pabula, tanquam immunis fucus sedeat, rem culinariam lixa curat: interim comites forti animo anchoram tollunt, vela pandunt, altum tenent, oramque legunt, quod Barbara, proficiscentem Anglum quendam, sexum egressa in litus usque lachrymans lugubri ejulatu prosquitur, immisericordi anniculum patri (cui cum corpore animum dederat) Iulum, quem ex eo pepererat, palmasque ad caelum, inter advolventium undarum impetum, dirasque imprecationes ingrato hospiti factas, gemitu, querelisque confecta tollit, dum Britannus tanquam Marpesia cautes firmus, institutum iter persequitur. Quod nostri vento marisque fluxu semper secundis, tertiâ decimâ (ni fallor) perficiunt die, adeo ut nubem non navem conscendisse viderentur, portumque nostrum sani salvique barbarico indumento subeunt, quod exscendentes in continentem cum patrito exultantes commutant, casusque suos popularibus diu desiderati exponunt, et Gulielmus Europaeo cuidam obviis, sordibus et squalore licet obsitus,

⁵³⁾ This refers probably to the galiot *Noord*, which was sent in October 1688 on another search expedition similar to that of the *Centaurus*. At Port Natal it picked up a few more survivors of the *Stavenisse* who had in the meantime found their way there. No mention is made of the cattle which G. says had been left behind. (Molsbergen, iii, 123 ff., esp. pp. 153 ff; Moodie, 441).

shore, tools, instruments, and every kind of sad relic of shipwreck they gather together and store, with the help of many natives, in the huts which they built to receive themselves, and all their equipment and supplies. The work went busily on under Isbrand who superintended the whole affair, and they launched their vessel in the sea, contrived so skilfully, quickly, and successfully, that it would seem they must have had divine aid in transforming the trees into a cutter. When they had loaded the ship with supplies and provisions of every sort from the neighbouring villages, they embarked. Such of their stores as the ship could not hold they left in their shelter; but the African wheat, that resembles millet, of which I spoke above, they packed in jars in the way I described and buried in the earth. They even left a herd of twenty or more fine oxen grazing on the open plain. A year later our Argonauts were conveyed in a galley to the same place by the order of the Council of our Company, and they found all that they had left behind uninjured and perfect in weight, number and size, as if sacrosanct or dedicated to some deity.⁵³⁾ Their possessions could not have been more scrupulously respected by the proverbial Attic good faith. The story ought to be cut in marble!

William, in order not to sit an idle drone at another's feast, turned kitchen-boy and helped with the cooking. Meantime his companions boldly weighed anchor, spread sail, and having gained the high sea, coasted along the shore. As one of the Englishmen set off, a native woman, defying the restrictions of her sex, followed him right down to the shore with piteous tears and lamentations, holding up to the unrelenting father (to whom she had given her heart along with her body) a little one-year-old Iulus, his son; then she raised her arms to heaven, and standing in the rush of the waves, called down curses on the head of the faithless stranger until exhausted with cries and groans. All the time the Englishman held upon his adopted course, firm as a Marpesian rock.⁵⁴⁾

Favoured by wind and wave our men accomplished their voyage, unless I am mistaken, on the thirteenth day. It would seem that they had embarked on a cloud instead of a ship. They sailed into harbour safe and sound, and, disembarking, joyfully exchanged the savage garments in which they were arrayed for European dress, and poured the varied story of their long absence into the ears of their fellows. As for William, he met a certain European and

⁵⁴⁾ There is no mention of this incident in the available records.

ab illo invenitur, ejusque ope, tum forte apud Frislorum Principem, quidam interioris admissionis et gratiâ florens domesticus, fraternae sortis certior factus. Hic rem omnem Patribus Societatis nostrae aperit, qui miserati juvenis vicem, extemplò Praefecto Promontorii Senatuque in mandatis dant, eum terra marique et quacunque perquirant via, et opere maximo operam dent, ut latebricolam indicatum, primâ occasione oblatâ, ipsorum nave depositum et honorifice habitum in Belgium et ad suos dimittant, quos tandem post tot discrimina rerum fortior meliorque adolescens Deo T.O.M. gratus votivam suspendens tabulam, exoptatissimus revisit, voluntatemque de eo bene merito, literis grati animi testibus, abundè remensus.

Haec in exortiva Africae plaga acta sunt, et ne occiduos hujus orae incolas sua laude fraudem, paucula etiam de illis levi penicillo, à capite accersita, summaque tantum secutus fastigia rerum attingam, quo tradam qualiscunque inter Barbaros maximè inconditos, et agreste hoc hominum genus, possit esse virtus.

Patrum C. Societatis nostrae mandato, navis aurea Argo, vulgo *de Goude Buys*, IV nonas Majas MDCLXXXIII *Χριστογούας* e Portu Texel mare subit, et per oceanum Caledonium rectâ pergens, Antonio Baanman Enkhusâ Batavo navis Praefecto, et Jacobo Lepi rationum accepti et expensi scribâ, stipati centum et nonaginta sociis, aes triplex circa pectus habentibus, feliciter satis, passisque velis ad Aequatorem usque navigatione secunda pervehuntur, ubi cum malaria variisque morbis luctantes, multi malis suis succumbunt, et occumbunt, aequoreisque piscibus esca facti reliquis comitibus navitisque nil boni praesagiunt, donec fide majora perpessi impendentem portui nostro montem altissimum, cui a similitudine mensae, Tabula nomen, jam quodammodo in portu navigantes errabundi V id. Octob^s laetique prospiciunt, sed renitente vento et aestu in sinum D. Helenae ingratiss delati: ubi navem ad

was recognized by him beneath all his rags and filth; and through the instrumentality of this man, a certain official of great influence in the inner circle of the stadholder of Friesland was informed of his brother's lot. He laid the whole affair before the Council of our Company, who out of pity for the youth's case, forthwith gave orders to the Governor and his Council at the Cape to search for him high and low, by land and sea, and to use their best endeavours that the lost sheep should as soon as possible be put upon one of their ships, treated handsomely, and restored to his people in Holland.⁵⁵) So at long last and after all those adventures, the youth, strengthened in body and soul, and offering grateful thanks to Almighty God, was joyously welcomed by his people. Nor did he omit generously to repay the goodwill of his benefactor by letters expressing his sense of gratitude.⁵⁶)

These events were unfolded on the east side of Africa. That the inhabitants of the West may not be robbed of their meed of praise, I shall now lightly sketch a few incidents of their history from memory, touching only on the main points, in order to show that virtue can exist among savages of any sort, even the most rude, and in the midst of this wild race of men.

On the 4th of May, 1693, by the order of the Council of our Company, a ship *The Golden Argo*, commonly called *de Goude Buys*, put out to sea from the port of Texel, and sailing on a straight course through the English Channel, with a Dutchman, Antony Baanman of Enkhuizen, as captain, and James Lepi as purser, and one hundred and ninety hearts of oak for crew, reached the equator after a favourable voyage under full sail without much to set them back. But here they had to struggle with malaria and various other diseases; there were many that fell ill and many that died, and their bodies being cast as food to the fishes augured no good to their companions on that voyage. At length, after incredible hardships, on the 11th of October, the voyagers, now feeling themselves almost in port, joyfully sighted the lofty mountain that overhangs our harbour, called Table Mountain from its shape. But wind and wave resisted them, and they were carried against their will into St. Helena Bay.

⁵⁵) Molsbergen (iii 87) quotes a letter written by Simon van der Stel in June, 1689, to the Chamber of XVII, in which reference is made to a letter from them asking after Chenut, and going on to say that the latter had been found serving as a sailor on board the *Noord*, had conducted himself well, and was being sent back home immediately.

⁵⁶) This sentence suggests that Chenut's benefactor might have been G. himself.

anchors collocant, supplicesque ac dimissi ad caelum confugiunt, unde misericordiam Numinis intuentur implorantque, et prope mensem hic frustra morati, animum de optato exitu despondentes, dum omnem planè auxilii spem decollatam vident, lintrem tanquam sacram anchoram in Mare III. id. Novemb^s dimittunt, in quem septem octove corporis animique viribus praestantiores, caeteris morte aut longiore valetudine consumptis, armati descendunt, et excensione in litus factâ, diu ignari viarum per deserta et feris bellicisque insessa loca vagantur donec commeatu omni absumpto, et turpissimam famem passi, magnam partem expirant. Solus Laurentius Matthei F. vulgò Laurens Thijs, faber lignarius moribundus ab Afris, natione magis quam ratione Barbaris, reperitur, qui noctem antecapturi cum semi-mortuo, humeris ipsorum alternatim suscepto, ad mapalia citato cursu properant. Hic inedia propè necatum, primo recenti lacte, mox juscule ovillo, tandem carne elixa aliisque efficacibus fomentis refocillant: alio Pegasio nuncio nostratum in Saldagniensi portu stationem, de Laurentii casu certiore faciunt, ubi V. Kal. Jani^{is} benigne à popularibus, post varios casus excipitur: qui adolescentem edocent, navem qua vectus luculentis mercibus et septemdecim arcis, auro argentoque tam rudi quam signato plenis, onustam, rudentibus fractis litori illisam, omnesque ejus socios morbo et dolore consumptos, unum tantum in litore superstitem conspici.

Haec ab exordio detexui, longiusque prolapsus, quam epistolae cancelli patiuntur: plura si de hujus juvenis navisque sorte scire gestis, evolve si placet Mercurii Europaei tomi sexti partem secundam, complectentem sex posteriores menses anni 1695, editam Amstelodami typis Timothei van Hoorn in 4^o pag. M. 237 ubi omnia fusius, non meo, sed ni fallor cujusdam praestantissimi auctoris clancularii stylo exarata patent: parce quaeso longius evagato.

⁵⁷⁾ The story of *De Gouden Buys*, as related by its two survivors, Daniel Silleman and Lourens Thijsz, was published in pamphlet form, Utrecht, 1706, and is reprinted fully, with annota-

Here they brought their ship to anchor, and suppliant and downcast turned their thoughts to heaven, whence they looked and prayed for God to aid them. About a month they tarried here without avail, despairing of the escape for which they yearned. At length, seeing that every hope of help came to nothing, on the 11th of November as a last chance they sent off the ship's boat with a crew of seven or eight men of outstanding strength of body and mind, the rest being now dead or wasted with long disease. They took their arms with them, and managing to disembark, for a long time they wandered at random through desert places infested with wild animals and enemies. At length, their food all consumed, after agonies of starvation, almost all expired. Only Laurens, son of Matthew, commonly known as Laurens Thijs, a carpenter, survived to be discovered in a dying state by the Africans, savages in name but not in nature, who in order to anticipate the fall of night carried the dying man in relays on their shoulders and ran with him to their huts. He had almost perished with hunger. But they were able to revive his strength, feeding him first with fresh milk, then with a little mutton broth, and finally with boiled meat, and using other efficacious remedies. Then by a messenger like another winged Pegasus they informed our men stationed at Saldanha Bay about Laurens's plight. Here on the 28th of December, his troubles at an end, he was made welcome by his fellow-countrymen. They informed the young man that the ship on which he had sailed, with its rich merchandise and seventeen coffers full of gold and silver bullion and coin, had slipped its cables and been wrecked upon the shore, and that all his comrades had perished through disease and suffering, one only being to be seen upon the shore alive.⁵⁷)

I have told this story from the beginning, and it has been too long a digression for the limits of a letter. If you wish to learn at more length the story of this man and his ship, turn up, if you will, vol. vi, part 2 of the *European Mercury*, comprising the last six months of 1695. It is published at Amsterdam by Timothy van Hoorn. There on p. 237 you will find the whole story told at greater length, not by me, but by the pen of an anonymous author of great powers, if I may trust my judgment. Forgive the long digression.

tions, in *Uit ou Reisbeskrywinge* (edited by W. Blommaert and S. F. N. Gie; Cape Town, 1922), pp. 129-69. G's account of the adventures of Thijsz is in the main correct. It will be noticed, however, that he says nothing of Silleman, save that there was another survivor of the wreck.

Si Romani iniquissima censentur lege decimasse legionem, quae infelici Marte cum hoste conflixerat, quid tibi videbitur: si dixero vix decimum comitem meorum ad Indos suam revisurum patriam, neminemque vestigiis praeaeuntium deterreri, omnia licet Indiam advorsum, perpauca retrovorum videant, dum partim justo severius, et servilem in modum habiti à navium praefectis (quos maximam partem totidem Cerberos et viperei generis fratres dices) inclementer et acerbe tractati, crebris diuturnis et sub alio sole miserrimis itineribus fracti, mille modis morbisque excarnificati pereunt: partim proni patuloque ore in mare desperati prosiliunt, alii infelicitatum dam(n)atam vitam finituri, mortem occupant, sibimet ipsis violentas inferentes manus: nonnulli armis hostium collato pede cadunt, quidam carnificum dextrâ sinistrè satis in crucem tolluntur: alii patrios ritus exosi, nova molientes ad hostes aut barbaros transfugiunt, sibique iter ad avitos praecludentes, à patrio extorres solo, in alieno noti nimis omnibus, ignoti maximè sibi moriuntur, omnesque suis deplorati, vitam cum morte commutant: en pretium curae, vigilatorumque laborum praemium! en opes! en spes inanes!

Accedit quod a X. Kal. Quint^{is} mdclxxxiv quibus navi Mosâ, secundum cataractas Mosae, septentrionale ingressus mare Indiam petens in hunc usque diem, ad quadraginta naves Croesi divitias ferentes, perditas Societati nostrae numero, quarum aliae partim ponto immoderata tempestate, aut hostium telis mersae, partim incendio conflagratae, aut igniario pulvere accensae, dissiliere, nonnullae ab hostibus pyrativae direptae: quaedam incerto, hincque acrius torquente fato, longum desideratae, latent: reliquae in caecas cautes, breviter, litoraue allisae, cadaveribus mercibusque pretiosissimis, totius mundi oram illustrarunt: et cum naves merito Deorum templa deberent esse, quia

If that is thought to be a very harsh law of the Romans in accordance with which they killed every tenth man in a legion that had been beaten in battle, what will you say if I tell you that scarcely one of those who voyaged with me to India will see their native land again? Yet none is deterred by the footprints of his predecessors, although all are turned towards India, and very few in the other direction. For some perish through unduly harsh treatment, being kept like slaves by the ships' captains (who for the most part are so many Cerberuses or off-spring of the dragon's teeth), being roughly and cruelly handled, broken by frequent, long, gruelling voyages under a foreign sun, and generally tortured in a thousand ways and by a thousand diseases; others in their despair leap head first and open-mouthed into the sea; others, resolved to end a life condemned to suffering, hasten their end by laying violent hands upon themselves; some fall in close combat at the hands of the enemy, some the dexterous hand of the executioner exalts to a sinister death upon the cross; yet others, filled with loathing of their ancestral religion, follow strange courses, deserting to the enemy or to the natives, and, cutting off all hope of a return to the ways of their forebears, exiles from the land of their birth, on a foreign soil, known but too well to all the world, and most unknown to themselves, they meet their end; deplored by relatives and friends, they chose death instead of life. This is the return for the care spent upon them, the reward for watching and toil! This is the wealth they gain! This is the realisation of their fond hopes!

To this must be added that from the 22nd of June 1684, when on the good ship *Meuse* I sailed down the Meuse and entered the northern sea on my voyage to India, up to the present day some forty ships, carrying the riches of Croesus, have been lost by our Company, of which some have been sunk by heavy seas or the fire of the enemy, some have been burned by fire or blown up by gunpowder, some have been plundered by the enemy or by pirates; there are some, long missing, which an uncertain and therefore more torturing fate has overtaken; the rest have been dashed on hidden reefs, on shallows, and on shores, and have strewn the coasts of the whole world with corpses and precious merchandise.

Furthermore ships should properly be temples, because the sailors must struggle with all the elements, and are never separated from shipwreck by more than three or four finger-lengths, if the ship be built of the stoutest pine; yet all the crew, with the exception of a few good men, seem bent upon rushing to destruction; they change their climate and their merchandise, but not their hearts.

nautis cum omnibus elementis luctandum, semperque sint digitis à naufragio remoti tribus, aut quatuor, si sit latissima taeda, tamen omnes, paucis bonis exceptis, ad interitum fermè ruere, et caelum mercesque non animum mutasse videri: hinc meo quidem animo patres malint domi liberos suos, carbonibus assidentes leto malo emori, spe verae licet serae poenitentiae, jacturam animae non facturos, quam eos in spem opibus sine fine parandis, iisque apud Indos per omne fas et nefas corradendis sustulisse, sciantque uno omnium maritimorum hominum sensu liquidò constare, quemcunque parricidam supra meritum plecti, se navigationi in Indiam et acerbis horum hominum injuriis committens: quotquot enim facinorosi et flagriones terrestri itinere, vel secundo Scaldi, Mosâ, Vahali, Rheno, Fossâ Drusiana, Amasi, aliisque viis ad Batavos perfugiunt, et quotquot furciferi per Scalas campenses penè gemonias dixissem, se in urbium ocellum Foederati non solum Belgii, sed merito totius mundi conjiciunt, maximam partem sub signis nostrae Societatis militaturos scias, et virtutis esse domare quod cuncti pavent, et quod omnem spem bonam ejurasse videtur.

Adde quaecunque de his Hellyn Anglus, Aquitanus Tavernier, cum Helveto Stoupa scripsere, olim mihi aliaque visa, sed quantula haec quae ipse expertus, meoque malo damnoque didici, suo tempore locoque in apricum proferenda. Redeat illuc unde deflexit calamus.

Solum adespotum, derelictum, possessore vacuum vel rude quod quis colendum sibi eligit, cedit occupanti, priorque tempore etiam jure potior in Magosis habetur, fructusque innatos colonus, non in commune nec in medium, sed sibi soli vindicat, domumque suam deportat, fundumque effoetum, ingratum, aut aliâ quacunque de causâ repudians, aggreditur alium, demigrat, solumque vertit quotienscunque libet, modo imperii et natalis soli margines non egrediatur, nefas enim est aliò habitatum ire, et finitimi populi jurisdictioni lares transfugos submittere.

Wherefore in my opinion fathers would do well to let their sons sit over the coals at home until they die an evil death, with the chance of saving their souls by a true though late repentance, rather than excite them to the hope of immense wealth to be raked together in India by all means fair and foul; they should know that it is fairly agreed by the common consent of all sea-faring men, that any murderer who signs on for the voyage to India under the savage villainy of these men, has received more than his due of punishment. For all the criminals and rascals who flee into Holland by land, or down the Scheldt, the Maas, the Waal, the Rhine, the Canal of Drusus, the Ems, or any other way, all the gaol-birds who escape hanging and hurl themselves into what is rightly known as the most delightful city* not only of the United Netherlands, but of the whole world—most of these, you must know, intend to serve under the flag of our Company. Their virtue is to triumph over the restraints all other men obey; no place is left in their breasts for any honest hope(?).

You may supplement this with the observations of the English writer Hellyn, the Aquitanian Tavernier, and the Swiss Stoupa, whose works I saw long ago.⁵⁸⁾ The little that I myself have been through and have learned to my misfortune and loss will be brought to light in the proper time and place. But I must return from my digression.

Among the Magosi if a man takes for cultivation a piece of ground that is ownerless, abandoned, unoccupied, or that has never been broken, it passes into his possession. First in time is first in law. The husbandman does not bring the produce into the common stock, but claims it for his own and carries it to his home. If his farm becomes exhausted, or gives a poor return, or if he dislikes it for any other reason, he goes to another, and changes his dwelling, shifting his ground as often as he likes provided that he does not overpass the limits of his native soil; for it is forbidden to go and live elsewhere, to transfer one's house and home so as to fall under the jurisdiction of a neighbouring people.

* Amsterdam (van Oordt).

⁵⁸⁾ The reference is to Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie. Containing the Horographie and Historie of the whole world*. London 1652; and *les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier . . . en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, Paris 1676. I have been unable to identify Stoupa; there is no author of this name listed in the British Museum catalogue.

Omnes unius tribus agri compascui, et saepius dissidiorum bellicae cum vicinis causa sunt, cum homines à natura ita comparati sint ut putent semper alterius pecus grandius uber habere, hincque certaminum lachrymae.

In confesso est ipsos nil habere antiquius sanctiusve, quam arctum hospitii solvere animum et peregrinos convivasque tecto, hunc in finem singulis pagis erecto, omnique comitate et commeatu publicitus excipere, et cum asymbolis hilariter helluari, et ad crepusculum usque anancaeis poculis certare: quod testantur liquidò Batavi nave *Stavenisse* novissimè vecti, centum et amplius milliarium intervallo juxta litus vagè et quaquaversum dispersi, qui dum ultrò citòque commeantes, et sursum deorsum officiosa cursitatione se mutuò invisunt, ab Afris genialiter curatissimèque excepti detinentur, festumque agere adventu suo, et unum alterumque diem cum ipsis epulari coguntur, praetextentibus barbaris mox coeli inclementiam, mox non vadosa ob recentem nimbum flumina, aliaque effugia allegantes, hunc duntaxat in finem ficta, quo peregrinantes distineant, et diutius consortione alloquioque horum advenarum gaudeant fruanturque: hac virtute sane, intra paucas memorandâ, multos Europaeos hic nobiscum degentes, longis parasangis praeverunt, utinamque cives nostri hospitalitatis sacra aemulentur, et à barbaris discant hospitii jura nunquam fallere, minusque inhumano agrestique esse ingenio, aequabilius me hercule atque constantius se res nostrae haberent, nam violare fidem cum Barbaris turpe, tum Christum profitentibus foedissimum est.

⁵⁹⁾ The "*Stavenisse*" crew said of Xhosa land tenure: "The land is common; everyone depastures his cattle and cultivates his gardens where he pleases. He is also free to shift his dwelling from one spot to another, provided that he remains within the bounds of the kingdom" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Although not literally correct this observation shows a fair understanding of the unstable character of Xhosa land holdings. G's additional details are also reasonably accurate.

⁶⁰⁾ The *Stavenisse* crew all comment favourably upon their reception and treatment by the natives. "They found the country

All the lands of one tribe are for common pasturage.⁵⁹⁾ From this cause frequently arise domestic quarrels and wars with their neighbours. Human nature is so fashioned that men always think the flock of the next man to be more prosperous. Hence disputes and tears.

It is admitted by all that the Hottentots hold no obligation more sacred than that of comforting a distressed soul by hospitality. Strangers and visitors are entertained at the public expense, in a hall erected in each district for this purpose, with every courtesy and attention; they partake of joyous banquets scot free, vying with their hosts till the fall of night in swallowing brimming goblets at a draught. Clear proof of this is afforded by the recent case of the crew of the Dutch ship *Stavenisse*. Scattered here and there at intervals on the land near the coast over an area of a hundred miles or more, they went hither and thither, up and down, busily engaged in a round of mutual visitings; all the time they were cordially and attentively welcomed and entertained by the Hottentots, who made holiday on their arrival, compelled them to stay with them a day or two, alleging at one time that the weather was bad, at another that the rivers were impassable by reason of the late rains, inventing one excuse after another in order to detain their guests and be the longer able to enjoy the society and conversation of their visitors.⁶⁰⁾ In this very important virtue they are miles ahead of many Europeans who live here with us. I only wish that our citizens would rival them in their respect for strangers, and learn from the natives never to break the laws of hospitality and to rid themselves of their inhuman and savage temper. Things would go much more smoothly and steadily with us, if this lesson could be learned. And God knows, if it is a disgrace for a native to break faith, it is an abomination for those who profess the name of Christ.

very fruitful and populous, and the natives friendly, compassionate, obliging, strong, and ingenious"; "they are generally kind, compassionate, and hospitable"; "one may travel 200 or 300 miles through the country, without any cause of fear from men . . . neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also"; "they were then obliged for some days to beg their food in the kraals or villages of the Magose Africans, until at length they were distributed in the surrounding villages or neighbourhood, and there very well treated" (Moodie, 417, 427, 431, 430). The "house of entertainment" to which reference is made is probably the visitors' hut which most big kraals possess. G's description, as usual, is highly coloured.

Morbi epidemici inter Cisalpinos Afros subinde grassantes sunt gramia, gravedo, rheuma, et fortè alii mihi ignoti, vereorque ne foedam impetiginem venereamque luem à nostratibus contraxerint.

Etiam atque etiam illis suasor fui, lectulos ilignis pedibus, loris tanquam stramine tectos, pellibusque perstratos sibi conservandae curandaeque valetudini conficerent, sed surdis narrata fabula, dum videntes probantesque meliora tamen deteriora sequuntur: tantae molis est! ab inveterato, damnosio damnatoque errore, perversaque consuetudine terrae filios divellere.

Fatidicus seu flamen sacrificium facturus cote clunaculum subigit, vaccamque tribus quatuorve passibus ab ostiolo tugurioli, in quo aeger decumbit, stantem pedibusque revinctam, capite Septentrioni obversam levi pugno, laterique sinistro impacto, victimarius sternit: cadentique in dextrum, inque virides substratos ramulos, illico particulam cutis palmae magnitudine et quantam laevâ capit, dextra prope umbilicum excindit, eamque sine mora dextro decumbentis carpo alligat, mox pergit vivam deglubere, evisceratamque mugientem audîvi, exenterataeque et viventis ilia malè carbonibus tosta, devorantes Afros vidi: hinc pauxillo sanguine, quem ollâ extari, capeduncula, aut testudinis putamine excepit, aegri faciem diluit, et felle victimae libans, ejus folliculum tecto infirmi imponit.

Testor longe segnius irritasse animum meum, quaecunque de ritu sacrificandi veterum tam lapidibus, quam aeri insculptaque caelataque, aut in tabulis, aulaeis, tapetiis, membranis, libris chartave picta unquam vidi, quam hic nostrorum Barbarorum sacrificialis et for(di)cidiorum apparatus, oculis meis subjectus.

⁶¹⁾ The description which follows of diseases and their treatment refers entirely to the Cape Hottentots, and is much fuller than any given by earlier writers. It appears in the main to be fairly accurate, although some of the details mentioned cannot be confirmed from other sources.

⁶²⁾ Even among the modern Hottentots the skin drawn off a living goat is used while still warm as an application for any severe pain, and poultices are also made of the entrails of a goat disembowelled alive to prevent loss of heat (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412-3). The ordinary Hottentot method of slaughter is well

Epidemic diseases which attack the natives on this side of the mountains from time to time are sore eyes, colds and catarrh, and perhaps some others unknown to me.⁶¹⁾ A loathly impetigo and venereal disease have, I am afraid, been caught from us.

Again and again I have endeavoured to persuade them to make bedsteads for themselves with oak legs, to cover the frame with thongs for a support, and to lay skins thereon, in order to preserve or restore their health. But my advice was given to deaf ears. They see and approve the better course but follow the worse. So huge a task is it to wrench the sons of earth from ingrained error or evil custom, even if they be ruinous and recognized as such.

When a soothsayer or priest is about to make a sacrifice he first whets the knife; he then places the cow with its feet tied and its head to the North three or four paces from the door of the hut in which the sick man lies, and gives it a light blow with his fist on the left side. It falls to the right on to green branches lying ready for it; and forthwith he cuts away with his right hand from near the navel a piece of skin the size of his palm, as much as he can hold in his left hand; then he immediately binds this on the right wrist of the patient.⁶²⁾ His next business is to skin the animal alive. I have heard a disembowelled cow lowing, and have seen the Hottentots eating the badly roasted side of another cow in the same condition and still alive. After this he washes the face of the sick man in a little blood which he catches in a pot, or dish, or tortoise shell; and making libation of the gall of the victim, he puts the gall-bladder on the roof of the sick man's house.

The sacrificial implements of our natives, and their methods, offered directly to my gaze, roused in me a far more lively interest than anything I have ever learned of the sacrificial rites of the Ancients by examining what has been cut or embossed on stone or bronze, or painted in pictures, tapestries, carpets, parchments, rolls or books.

described in the journal of v. d. Stel's trip to Namaqualand. "First they laid it on its back and one cut open its belly while it still lived, thrust in his hand and drew out the entrails, the sheep being still alive. Then the skin was clumsily torn from one side, the flesh severed from the shoulder blade, the ribs roughly broken off one side and stripped of flesh one by one, the same process being then repeated on the other side. The reason why they do not cut the throats of the animals they slaughter is to keep the blood, which they collect and boil by itself and then eat" (Waterhouse, *op. cit.*, 124).

Si conjectare permittitur, non alia de causa ipsos aegri collo omentum circumdare, eumque axungia oblinire dicerem, quam ut iis spirituum vitalium nimias exhalationes sistant, porosque corporis obturando, frigus externum arceant, caloremque nativum foveant.

Gramina pasta in ventriculo vel panticibus aut intestinis victimae inventa excretaque, quidam simul cum carne discocata, in deliciis habent: inelegantibus sané! alii ea prae foribus decumbentis abjiciunt, quorum medullâ igne liquefactâ, praesentissimo remedio, aegrum perungunt, eumque frequentissimè abstinentiâ diaeteticisque, praecipue lacte vaccino, cum manipulo piperis aliisque aromatibus simul elixis egelidisque decumbenti propinatis, sanant.

Frequentissimè aegro tam prono quam supino immejunt, nec hujus faciem urinâ illotam patiuntur, nec desunt qui decumbenti lotium unius viri exceptum conchâ, aut testudinis putamine aliove vase, ut redditum admixto cujusdam herbae pulvisculo propinent: feminarum lotium aspernantur, ipsaeque mulieres illud sibi noxium censent: sed quandoque viri, aegrotam clunibus insedentem nudamque cruribus, à genubus ad pedes usque commingunt.

Ubi femina decumbit, recentia boum excrementa, admixtâ aquâ ad ignem confervescere in olla faciunt, quae sedenti in scrobe, cruribus aegrae tepefacta, prospero subinde successu inguinibus tenus affundunt, adjuvante (meâ sententiâ) plurimum naturâ, sui semper conservatrice.

Scarificationem seu incisionem in cute transversam, ad digiti longitudinem, praecipuè in pectore lateribusque, satis superque spissam, morbo laborantibus adhibent, et nonnunquam cauteria.

⁶³⁾ Although not all the details of this account can be confirmed from other writers, there is evidence enough to substantiate the use of urine by the early Hottentots in their medical treatments. Schreyer, e.g., gives a valuable first-hand observation to this effect. He was travelling inland with a party of soldiers, who had with them some Hottentots as guides. One of the latter had a swollen testicle which pained him so much that he could hardly move. "The sun was going down, when they made a small fire, which none of us might approach, and to ensure this they had kindled a separate fire for us. They seated themselves

If I may be allowed a conjecture, I should say that the reason of their hanging the entrails round the neck of the patient and anointing him with fat is to check the excessive exhalation of the vital spirits, and, by closing the pores of the body, to keep out external cold and foster the native heat.

The pasture grass found in the stomach or bowels of the victim, and the excreta, are cooked by some together with the flesh and looked upon as a great treat: not a very refined one to be sure! Others fling these things before the sick man's door, and when the marrow has been extracted from them by the heat of the fire, they anoint the sick man with it, a very powerful remedy. They treat the patient also by fasting and dieting. A favourite diet is cow's milk boiled with a handful of pepper and other aromatic herbs, and given to the patient cold.

A very frequent remedy is to turn the patient on his back and on his front and make water on him. They do not allow even his face to escape a bath of urine. Some even take, in a sea-shell or tortoise-shell or some other vessel, the amount of water discharged by one man, mix it with a powder from a certain plant, and administer it to the sick man. They do not attach any healing property to the water of women; the women themselves think it injurious to them. But sometimes a sick woman is made to sit upon her haunches with her legs bare, while the men make water upon her from the knees to the feet.⁶³)

When a woman is ill, they take fresh cow dung, mix it with water, and heat it on the fire; the woman is put to sit in a trench, and the warm water is dashed over her legs up to the waist. The patient sometimes recovers, but in my opinion most of the credit is due to Nature which always strives to preserve itself.

As a cure for disease they also employ scarification or criss-cross incisions in the skin of about a finger's length, especially on the chest and sides. The cuts are made very close to one another. Sometimes also they try cautery.

in a circle round their fire. The 'doctor,' after addressing himself to the sun with much gesticulation and talk, went up to the patient, who was lying completely naked on the ground, and began to make water all over him, from the head down all over the body, until his flow had ceased; the other Hottentots, 7 or 8 in number, then faithfully followed his example. The patient, after being lustily bathed and washed in this way, went to sleep in his kaross, and the following day was again fit enough to accompany us" (*op. cit.*, 31-2). Kolb also gives a good deal of attention to this mode of treatment (*op. cit.*, 566 ff.).

Humorum acrimoniam, inflationes inflammationesque seu phlegmone(s), aliaque tubera, decumbentibus aequè feliciter ac nostrates cucurbitulis, ore exugunt: hoc modo Afram vix bilustri cujusdam Europaei filiolae verendis exsuxisse calculum phaseoli magnitudine, ex illius parentibus accipio.

Convalescenti salubribus jusculis pharmacisque corroborato, sacerdos sive haruspex omnem comam novaculâ abradit, postea illum viridibus foliis, nostratium salicis affnibus, sed minoribus, cutem corticemque malorum redolentibus, totum ab unguiculo ad capillum summum perfricat, mox calidâ aquâ, ultimoque persanatum frigidâ abluit: porrò una alterave ove, et si res pecuaria restituto sanitati ampla est, etiam bove aliove armento aut jumento ejus saluti perlitat, quem adipe hostiae delibutum, perspersumque pulvisculis herbae bochu, omentoque bestiae intorto, ejusque collo amuleti loco circumjecto, amictuque pinguedine inuncto, et bochu pulvere consperso sanum salvumque convivatorem dimittit, et in sostrum lautè soteriis cum amicis excipitur. Quae sit salutifera, quaeque sit herba nocens, earundemque vim apprimè norunt: recordor eos indicasse mihi florem, narrantes illo e terra pullulante, mulieres suas quotannis mense Septembri aliquot diebus, altum sopitas, gravique somno pressas, et quasi torpore obductas, veternas catalepsi laborantes in multum lucem stertere. Tempestatum significatus post futuros ante pronunciant, nec siderum motus stellarumque discursum planè ignorare videntur, quod exemplo infra colligendum dabo.

⁶⁴) Scarification (followed by rubbing various ingredients into the cuts, i.e. a form of inoculation) and cupping are still practised among the modern Hottentots (cf. Schapera, *op. cit.*, 407, 409 ff.) The sucking to which G. refers is nowadays used chiefly in case of snakebite and similar injuries, to remove the poison, and also in such cases where the disease is attributed to the introduction by wizards and evil spirits of foreign substances into the patient's body. The magician massages the part affected and then sucks hard at it, to produce at last triumphantly from his mouth the harmful substances which he claims to have extracted in this way from the body of the patient (Schapera, 390).

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.⁶⁴⁾ I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean.

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.⁶⁵⁾

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day⁶⁶⁾. They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below.

⁶⁵⁾ This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, ii, 77-9; cf. Schapera, 406-7, 256 ff.).

⁶⁶⁾ I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

Vulnus herbarum succo per syphonem ei immisso, aut earundem foliis, aut bulborum quorundam tunicis, etiam insulso butyro seboque obligatum curant, saucique urinâ ferventi, et in dimidiam sui partem decoctâ abluunt; si quem venenatum animal pupugit vel momordit, aut si quis virulentis armis laesus, protinus ejus crus, pedem aut brachium supra subtusque plagam vincturâ, morâ, fasciâ, aut loris arctissimè sistendae sanguinis circulationi, et ne virus per venas latius serpat constringunt, variisque incisionibus cultro aut spiculo circum vulnus rectâ descendentem non transversâ linea per cutem factis, continuò vir aut mulier accurrit, oreque plagae admoto, virus omne exsugit. O factum bene! quid hac ope medica praestantius? quid hac fide majus? quid hoc alexipharmaco salubrius?

Cupido sciendi confectionem Butyri dicam. Urem lanâ introrsum versâ lacte propemodum complent, loroque ejus orificium constringunt, quem dextrâ laevaue, et utraque extremitate sublato, ultrâ citràque divaricatis cruribus stantes commovent, quassant et concutiunt, donec cremor in butyrum congelatus concretusque sit.

Si forte contingit contra haec remedia malum ingravescere, illico insectantur viperam, anguem aut serpentem qualemcunque obvium, quem necatum apud saucium ferunt, apertoque effractoque ejus ore, omne virus ei adimunt, quod duabus vesiculis quantum vel avellana caperet, ovi albumini assimilè, in utraque maxilla juxta dentes situm, qui morsu infixi hominum bestiarumve corpori, per foramen, quo vicinum eis virus receperunt, concavi illud vulneri inspirant: has vesiculas cum aliquot scorpionibus aliisque toxicis simul mistas et elixas cum vaccino lacte, tanquam sacram anchoram aegro pro potione medica dant, adhibentes malo huic nodo malum cuneum, saepiusque hoc clavo clavum feliciter pellunt! ultimoque serpentem totum quantum candentibus carbonibus to(s)tum in pulvisculum lapidibus commolunt, quo saucii corpus, praecipuè vulnera perfricant, hocque medicamentum usu exploratissimum.

⁶⁷⁾ cf. Ten Rhyne's description, p. 149 f. above.

⁶⁸⁾ See above, p. 129.

⁶⁹⁾ The modern Hottentots still use snake poison on occasion as an antidote to snake bite, a small dose of prepared venom diluted in water being swallowed. The crushed head of the snake may be applied as a poultice in case of snake bite, powdered spider as a poultice for spider bite, while in the case of scorpion sting the particular animal if possible is captured, its tail and

They treat wounds by introducing into them through a pipe the juice of plants, or else they bind them with the leaves of plants or the coats of certain bulbs, using also unsalted butter and lard. They also wash the wound with the urine of the wounded man, reducing the quantity to half by boiling. A sting or bite from a poisonous animal, or a wound from a poisoned weapon they treat with great skill. The injured leg, foot or arm they at once bind above and below the wound, very firmly, in order to check the circulation of the blood and prevent the poison spreading along the veins; then they make various incisions in the skin with a knife or spear-head round the wound, not across but in descending straight lines; then immediately a man or woman runs up, puts his lips to the wound and sucks all the poison out⁶⁷). O noble deed! What could be better than this medical aid? Where shall we find greater loyalty? What more effective antidote exists?

If you wish to know their way of making butter, I can tell you. They take a skin bag, with the woolly side in, and almost fill it with milk; then the neck is tied tightly with a thong, and the butter-maker, standing with his legs apart, and holding one end of the bag in his left hand and the other in his right, moves it vigorously up and down, to and fro, shaking and churning it, until the cream has been massed and hardened into butter⁶⁸).

If by chance the trouble increases in spite of these remedies, forthwith they look for the first viper, snake or serpent they can find, and kill it and bring it to the wounded man. Then they break open its mouth and take all the poison from it. This poison is contained in two little glands. There is about as much of it as would fill a nut-shell; it is like the white of an egg; and it is situated in each jaw near the teeth. The teeth are hollow, and when they are fixed by a bite into the body of man or beast they transmit into the wound through the opening in them the poison they draw from the glands nearby. It is these glands that they mix with scorpions or other poisons, boil in cow's milk, and administer to the sick man as a last hope. In this they are often successful, applying the toughest wedge to the toughest notch, or driving out a nail with a nail, as the proverb says. Finally they toast the whole serpent on glowing coals, and grind it to powder with stones. With the powder they rub the body of the wounded man, especially the wounds⁶⁹). Experience has shown them the great worth of this remedy.

nippers pulled off, and the body ground and applied as a paste to the wound. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 409). G's observation therefore appears to be accurate enough.

Animi vitio laborantem, flagitiosum, et novissima meritum exempla, circumrugienti leoni, hominibus pecorique infesto, pellibus probè infibulatum, teloque armatum, coercendis nebulonis sceleribus, tanquam faeneum hominem periculo objiciunt, advolantibus subsidio omnibus, victoremque ovatu salutant, et hoc claro egregioque facinore in integrum restituto, abrogatis legibus, criminibusque abolitis, salillo puriori, omniumque sententiis atramento sutorio absoluto cuncti gratulantur: nec de nihilo, cum leo semel carne humana pastus, ut delicantissimam omnibus praefert. Qui adhaec in pretio habet carnem caninam, visus enim est devorasse canem, ejusdemque caput postridie pro repotiis edere maluisse, quod in propinquo ante decipulam abjectum erat, quam vervecem vivum duobus inde passibus frutici alligatum dilacerare, hunc dum intactum transit, glandibusque plumbeis trajectus cadit. Quem fecunditate sua vastaturum regionem liquet, nisi conquirens sibi foetuique praedam, rediens à venatione, saepe cubile scymnis vacuum inveniret, qui ferocia aut famis instinctu latius à lustro vagantes, hominibus praeda fiunt, aut inediâ pereunt, dum catuliens leaena vel leo nostratium armis aut decipulo necatur. Huc accedit quod leones prurientem catervatim sequentes leaenam, venero aestu saevientes se mutuo dentibus unguibusque dilacerant.

Leo à captura rediens ventriculum carnibus plenum coram pullis vomitu exonerat, pari modo leaena frustis esculentis crudis catulos alit, iisdemque insuper ubera praebet.

Qui leonem quantumlibet necat aut capit, ei ex publico aerario per aediles sedecim nummi argenti cum nummi besse, vulgo R. D. in *βραβεῖον* numerantur, decem si ejus dextra aut industria pardus, tres ubi lupus ceciderit, addendis acuendisque animis praemio dantur. Quo nonnulli nimium accensi suo cum damno, vitaeque jacturâ discunt, quam asper leo tactu, et quam periculosi morientium animalium ungues morsusque sunt.

⁷⁰) This opportunity of rehabilitating himself may conceivably have been offered to one or two criminals known to G., but it is certainly not the normal Hottentot method of administering justice, even as described by the earliest writers. Dapper's account (see above, p. 65 ff.) has far more truth in it.

⁷¹) As early as 1656 the Council at the Cape, in consequence of the great damage caused by wild animals, had decided to

A vicious, criminal person who is judged worthy of the extreme penalty is exposed to danger like a straw man, that is to say, he is well trussed up with skins, provided with a spear, and flung to a man-eating, cattle-raiding lion, to curb his rascalities. All then rush up to his support, and should he prove the victor they hail him with shouts of triumph; his brilliant exploit restores him to his former rights; the action of the law is suspended, the charge is set aside, and all congratulate him on being now cleaner than a salt-cellar and quite freed, in universal popular opinion, of the stain on his character⁷⁰). And not without reason, for a lion who has once tasted human flesh prefers it to all other as being the most delicate.

Lions also set a special value on dog-flesh. One day a lion ate a dog. The head of the animal was thrown near by in front of a trap. Next day when the lion came back for a renewal of the feast he was observed to prefer the dog's head to a living wether tethered two paces off to a shrub. As the lion went past the wether without touching it, he was pierced by bullets and fell. Lions are so fertile that they would lay the whole countryside waste were they not kept down in various ways. Often when a lion goes off hunting for itself or its young, on its return it finds the lair empty of cubs, which through natural ferocity or the pangs of hunger stray too far from their den and become a prey to men. Or they perish of hunger, if the lioness or lion is killed by the weapons of our men or in a trap. Also when a lioness is in heat the lions follow in troops, and their sexual rage is such that they tear one another to pieces with tooth and claw.

When a lion comes back from a kill it disburdens its belly of its load of flesh by vomiting it up before the cubs, and the lioness likewise feeds them on undigested tasty morsels as well as offering them her dugs.

A man who kills or captures any sort of lion is paid by officials from the public treasury a sum of sixteen and two-thirds silver nummi, commonly called a rix dollar, as a reward; if he kills or captures a leopard he gets ten, and three for a wolf.⁷¹) The rewards are intended to stimulate hunters, some of whom have been made so eager that they have learned only with the loss of their lives how fierce a lion is to touch and how dangerous are the teeth and claws of a dying animal.

offer premiums for the destruction of these beasts. The original scale was: for catching and killing a lion, 6 reals; a "tiger" or hyena, 4 reals; and a leopard 3 reals (D., June 22, 1656). In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander of the Fort.

Divitiae Afris nostris palmariae, arma, et pecus sunt. Fixas sedes nullas habent, migrare per arva illis mos, atque errantes circumportare penates, bubis citatis velocissimisque dorso quaecunque onera, etiam homines et clitellas portantibus, et quo prata et pascua gregem, buceraque secla vocant, huc cum mapalibus suis sparsi, vagantesque circumcelliones ire, pecusque quoad contenebrascit pascere, illudque septis (ut supra dixi) nocte continere, alternantes brachia pedesque plausu, et ducere choros lasciviores corporis motu imminente luna, intempestâ concubiaque nocte assolent.

Morbo et aetate confectum, solum mutantes in tuguriolo probè clauso, instructum commeatu, aquâ et igne, pro silicern(i)o, singulari immanitate depositum, omnique auxilio destitutum, Barbarorum barbarissimi nobis vicini, nullo sexus aut consanguinitatis respectu, a lege alimentaria alienissimi derelinquunt.

Feminae ex incurvatis arcuatisque et in terram depactis tigillis crebrisque axiculis, transversè sibi invicem vimine connexis, orbiculatum convexum, testudineumque, et circiter quinque pedes altum, ejusque diametro duodenos non excedente, tuguriolum cum bicubitali ostiolo orienti obverso aedificant, illudque craticulis seu mattis, storeisve ex junco hibisco scirpove aff[r]abrè textis, quandoque etiam pellibus, contra caeli inclementiam aestuantesque ventos contegunt, et hoc tectum totam familiam, tenerosque agnellos, adasias cum vitulis excipit, in cujus centro omnibus fovendis cibisque praeparandis focus perennis lucet, ibique ut plurimum libero corde confabulantur, tempusque cacchinis et cavillationibus Abarides, concordia conjunctissimi terunt: En lepidum gynaeceum!

Hae etiam figlina sua vasa dextrè satis conflant, ex fusili argillâ, quam effossam domum deportant, eamque in partes juglandium magnitudine sectam, pellicae inspersam, aspersamque subinde quantulacunque aquiculâ, ne nimium arescat, in biduum aut triduum insolant, hinc deposite in cylindros, botellorum instar, ulnae magnitudine singulos, redigunt: primumque in gyros, turbinemque inflectunt

⁷²⁾ This custom of abandoning elderly people to their fate was still being practised by the Hottentots in the middle of last century (see authorities quoted by Schapera, *op. cit.*, 359). Hahn, inquiring into the reason for the practice, was told by the Naman that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not

The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.⁷²)

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).

fundo aut basi ollae destinatos: hinc pari modo testam profundam latamque ex arbitrio et proportionis norma construunt, eamque digitorum et conchae marinae ope, introrsum et extrorsum perpolitam laevigatamque, rubro colore, (minio subsimili) quaquaversum illinunt, et sub eodem tecto ubi elaborata, pelle aut storeis in diem unum alterumve probè coopertam, ne nimio aëre aut vento, justo citius siccata, rimas agat aut fatiscat, relinquunt: denique siccâ aridâque bucerdâ repletam, luculento igni ansatam imponunt, coctaque in varios usus apta.

Adhaec calathos, canistros, ficellasve ex hibisco consolidatas hauriendae aquae, et continendo cuiusvis liquori, magnitudine et forma nostratium sitularum, nusquam perfluentes, solertissimi texunt, interiorem plagam inhabitantes, et in occidua Europaei nassas et retia viderunt.

Uterque sexus verenda melotâ aut aliâ quavis pelle tegit: capilli variis anadematis, crepundiisque intermixtis conchulis, cochleis, plurimisque maris ejectamentis conspersi, auresque crotaliis graves, et nonnunquam in vertice virorum, veluti militis galeati pinna, leporis cauda eminet: et quotiescunque ovem aliudve animal mactant, ejus felle se illinunt, folliculumque capillitio innectunt, atque felle bestiae pro salute aegri caesae, prolubant, folliculum verò tugurioli tecto, in quo aeger decumbit, supersticiosi, ut dixi, imponunt.

Ex collo, auribus, et femure catellos, astragalos, crotalia, fila, lineas, funiculosve coraliis globulisque Cypreis, eburneis, ferreis vitreisque consertos feminae pendentes habent, in digitis varios condulos, et in utroque carpo fermè eadem cimelia.

Viri caudam pardalis, vulpis, felisve odorariae, aliorumve animalium bacillo superinductam, ad cubiti longitudinem, ut plurimum dextrâ euntes sedentesve tenent, quâ gramosi sudantesque, vicè pannulei aut sudarii, se abstergunt: iidem coriaceam fasciam, corrigiam seu cingulum, duos aut tres digitos latum, aliquotque ulnas longum, nudis femoribus circumligant, et prope podicem nodo constringunt, pro-pendentibus utrimque ejus extremitatibus semiulnae longitudine, et caudarum similitudine inter clunes.

⁷³⁾ This account of potmaking by the Hottentots is much more detailed than any previous mention, and is on the whole an accurate description of a process still employed by some natives of S. Africa.

length. The first step is to mould the clay into a circle to form the bottom of the pot; then by further moulding they make a deep or wide vessel as suits their fancy and the law of proportion; this is polished and smoothed inside and out with the fingers and with a sea-shell, and smeared all over with a red colouring matter rather like minium; the pot is then left for a day or two in the same house in which it was made, well covered with a skin or mat so that it may not get too much air or wind, and so dry too quickly and fall into cracks; finally the pot is stuffed with dry cowdung, provided with handles and placed on a bright fire. After baking it is ready for various uses.⁷³⁾

Furthermore the inhabitants of the interior are very skilful in making closely-woven pails or baskets of reeds for drawing water or holding any sort of liquid. They are about the size and shape of our buckets and are perfectly watertight. In the western parts Europeans have seen weels and nets (of native manufacture).

Both men and women cover their private parts with a sheepskin or some other kind of skin.⁷⁴⁾ Their hair is sprinkled over with various ornaments and gauds, including sea-shells, snail-shells, and many things cast up by the sea; their ears are heavy with pendants; and sometimes the men have the tail of a hare standing up on their crown like the plume in a soldier's helmet. Whenever they kill a sheep or any other animal, they smear themselves with the gall and twine the gall-bladder with their hair. But if the animal has been slain for the cure of a sick man, they superstitiously make libation of the gall, and put the gall-bladder, as I have said, on the roof of the hut in which the sick man is.

Hanging from neck, ears, and thighs the women wear chains, loops, pendants, threads, cords and strings of coral, or copper, ivory, iron or glass beads; on their fingers are various rings, and on both wrists, as a rule, similar treasures.

The men, whether walking or sitting, generally carry in the right hand the tail of a panther, fox, skunk or other animal drawn over a stick a cubit's length; and this serves them in place of handkerchief or towel to wipe away rheum or sweat. The men likewise have a leathern band, sash, or girdle, two or three fingers wide and several ells in length, which they bind round their bare thighs and tie in a knot near the rump. The two ends of it hang down like a tail between the buttocks to the length of half an ell.

⁷⁴⁾ The following description of Hottentot clothing is very slight, but in substantial agreement with those given by other writers.

Hoc instructu nitent mares, hoc cultu mundoque muliebri uxores et puellae lemniscatae et semi-nudae, variisque pigmentis adornatae et coll[in]itae superbiunt, quae cum sibi in Magosis obviam fiunt, mutuo amplexu et osculo, testantes gaudia vultu, alia aliam junctis manibus amicissimè salutant, unde gentium? quo tendat? quomodo valeat? quid novi ferat regio? quasque cantilenas et choreas novi moris didicerit? blandiloqua, fur et mendax invicem percontatur.

Pedes soleis coriaceis sandalorum vice, veterum Romanorum more cisalpini vinciunt viri: Feminae non nisi in lumecto spinetisque, leonibus aliisque feris imperviis, caeterum pedibus mirae brevitatis, semper nudae et discalciatae: hae soleae, dum famas eos in desertissimis locis et procul à mapalibus deprehendit, silice contusae, igneque tostae, novissimus ipsis pastus.

A mare et femina simul terrâ genitis, quidam genus dicunt; alii constanti majorum traditione et Judaeorum Christianorumque scriptis magis consentaneâ, viro ejusve uxori una pariterque per fenestram olim in terram escendentibus originem suam in Magosis adscribunt, et in hoc conveniunt omnes, quod ab his primis parentibus, agriculturam, fruges terrae, baccasque condere, mulgere pecus, cervisiam et panem coquere, didicerunt: tincta sensu verba!

Victus et amictus illis hirtus, hispidus et munditiis carens: humi cibum per feminas paratum, lotis manibus, somnumque capiunt: eadem illa pellis, quae ipsos de die texit, benignâ vicissitudine nocte ipsis vicem cervicalis, culcitrae, straguli, et conopei supplet.

Citimi proximè nos aderrantes, quique montibus superfusi vecticulariam vitam, avidamque abactores agunt, desertaque et humano cultu vacua sequuntur, nullis adstrictos disciplinis, nullis ferè moribus neque lege, nec cujusquam imperio regi. Pacis artium et civilis habitus rudissimos, opicos

⁷⁵⁾ The description of Xhosa greeting customs is, as usual with G., taken almost verbatim from the reports of the "Stavenisse" crew. Cf. Molsbergen, iii, 66: "If the women have not seen each other for 5 or 6 days, they embrace and kiss, each asking the other about her health; and whenever they meet they greet each

I have now described the outfit of a fashionable male, and the dress and adornment in which the women, both wives and maids, flaunt themselves, festooned with ribbons and half-naked, and smeared with various decorative pigments. Among the Magosi when women meet, they embrace and kiss, their faces beam with joy, each takes the other's hand in friendly greeting, and they enquire of one another: Where from? and Whither away? How does your health? and what is the news in your part? and what new ditties and dances have you learned? chatting together as thick as thieves.⁷⁵⁾

The men on this side of the mountain follow the ancient Roman practice of binding their feet with skin shoes by way of sandals; the women do so only in thorny bushes and thickets through which no lion or wild beast could force a way, otherwise their feet, which are wonderfully small, are bare and unshod. If hunger overtakes the natives in desert places far from their huts, these velskoene, pounded with flints and roasted on the fire, furnish their last repast.

Some assert that their race came into being from a male and female simultaneously sprung from the earth; others, among the Magosi, following the steadfast tradition of their ancestors, and one more in harmony with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ascribe their origin to a man and his wife who in remote times descended through a window on to the earth. All are agreed that from these first parents they learned agriculture and the storing of grains and berries, the milking of cattle, the brewing of beer and the making of bread.⁷⁶⁾ There is a gleam of sense in their words.

Their food is as rough as their clothing, and both are lacking in elegance and refinement. On the ground, after washing their hands, they eat the food the women have prepared; on the ground they sleep. The same skin that covers them by day is conveniently converted at night to supply the uses of a pillow, a mattress, a rug and a mosquito net.

Our nearest neighbours whose wanderings bring them quite close to us, and those who are scattered over the mountains, live a hand-to-mouth existence as robbers and cattle-raiders; they keep to desert places untouched by human cultivation; they are bound by no discipline, obey hardly any custom or law, and are not subject to the

other, men and women, young and old alike, asking whence they come, and where they are going, what news they have, and whether they have not learned any new dances and songs."

horridioresque transalpinis, et qui introrsum degunt, non inficior. Hi quippe addictius regnantur, suoque regulo cum vitae et necis, jurisque dicendi potestate armato gaudent, quem summa veneratione prosequuntur, ejusdemque caritate flagrant: qui jura subditis de plano, sine judiciorum litiumque anfractu, parte utraque auditâ, ex aequo et bono reddit, ejusque decreto stant, et imperio, legibus institutisque cordati viri, nullâ parendi morâ, nemine obstrepente, tanquam numini, ad amussim obtemperant. Ex idoneo auctore habeo, quod ejus pedibus quum tugurio, veluti palatio degreditur, seque in publico conspici patitur, mattas stragulasque in magnificentiam substernant.

Si quis filius familias à patre acerbè vapulasse, seque ad sanguinem usque caesum queritur: causa cognita, convictus vaccam districtus calidiorque pater, spectatae integritatis judici, aequabilitatem juris exercenti, multam pendit: qui ubi dijudicandae controversiae, fortè nimium intricatae et obscuritate involutae, imparem se censet, ingenii sui viribus diffusus, concilio finitimarum gentium regulorum convocato, conciliandi causa considet, dicamque Princeps apolectis juxta secum ventilandam decidendamque exhibet: quorum calculo, pluriumque suffragio, partes tanquam magno justitiae et indulgentiae in subditos (semper fermè regentibus similes) documento, acquiescunt: hincque obsequium in Principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus, praecipuè cum subditorum gratia et leges aequantur.

⁷⁶) "They deduce their origin," said the *Stavenisse* crew, "from a certain man and woman, who grew up together out of the earth and who taught them to cultivate the ground, to sow corn, milk cows, and brew beer" (Molsbergen, iii, 62; Moodie, 431). A somewhat similar story is found among the Zulu and Tswana tribes even now. I do not know the other version, according to which the ancestors of man descended out of the sky.

⁷⁷) This refers of course to the Bushmen (Sonquas), and not to the Hottentots.

⁷⁸) Some details in the following passages are based upon the written records of the *Stavenisse* crew; but a good deal has been added, either from oral information or from G.'s own idea of what is fitting.

⁷⁹) The *Stavenisse* record merely says: "They are obliged to submit their disputes to the King, who, after hearing the parties,

command of any chief.⁷⁷⁾ They have no skill in the arts of peace or civil society, and are, I admit, barbarous fellows, and much wilder than those on the other side of the mountains and in the interior. But these latter are under much stricter rule;⁷⁸⁾ they rejoice to acknowledge a chief armed with the power of life and death, and of administering justice; they follow him with the deepest veneration and are passionately loyal to him. He deals out simple justice to his subjects, without tortuous pleas and judgments, but after hearing both sides, and on a fair and equitable basis. They abide by his decree, and like wise men yield exact obedience to their chief, their laws and their institutions, without reluctance or demur, as if they recognized a divine authority in them.⁷⁹⁾ I have it on sufficient evidence that when he emerges from his kraal, as from a palace, and allows himself to be seen in public, they strew rugs and mats before his feet to do him reverence.

Suppose a son complains that he has been cruelly beaten by his father,⁸⁰⁾ and that the cuts have drawn blood: the case is tried, and the stern hot-tempered father, if condemned, pays a cow as a fine to a judge of proved integrity administering even justice. But suppose the chief has been called upon to decide an intricate and obscure dispute to which he feels himself unequal, deeming it too difficult for his powers of judgment, he then calls a council of the heads of the neighbouring tribes, sits with them in conference on the case, entrusting to this select body the task of discussing with him and pronouncing upon the issue involved. A majority vote of this bench of judges is acquiesced in by the disputants who look upon the procedure as a great proof of justice and goodwill to his subjects on the part of the chief. Subjects do, as a rule, resemble their rulers. The result is willing obedience to their chief and a wish to rival him which is more powerful than fear of legal punishment. This is the more so since there is no respect of persons and the laws are fairly administered.

gives sentence on the spot, to which all parties submit without a murmur" (Molsbergen, iii, 66; Moodie, 431).

⁸⁰⁾ G.'s tendency to embellish his raw material is well illustrated in this paragraph. The *Stavenisse* record is worded as follows: "When a father beats his son so as to draw blood, and complaint is made to the king, he must pay the king a cow, as a fine. Should the matter in dispute be of great importance, when he cannot rely upon his own judgment, he refers the parties to an older king in his neighbourhood" (Molsbergen and Moodie, *loc. cit.*). The whole account of Xhosa legal procedure is, generally speaking, accurate enough in outline.

Seria seu publicè seu privatim tractantes, alto silentio, arrectisque auribus quisque gravitatem asseverans non adstat sed assidet, et alter alteri nunquam refragatur, obrogatve, aut sermonem obloquendo intercipit, nec voce mox demissiore, mox intentiore contendit, aut verba magno cursu convolvit, sed semper aequabili et tempore praefinito clementerque disputat: magna eis capitis reverentia cani, pro quo juniores viâ cedunt, cui honorificè consurgunt, quodque semper consulunt.

Hunc Regulum vitâ defunctum, cirris detonsis, galeris, cudonibus calyptrisque in vicinum amnem aut torrentem maeroris testimonio abjectis, cum conjugibus et liberis vero desiderio, duodenis mensibus, inoperto capite et barba rasa cunctus populus luget: quorum nullus toto illo vertente anno vel minimo butyro sebove se illinere, nec primo luctus mense schisto lacte vesci audet, solo pane et carne ut potest se sustentans.

Defunctum per ostiolum quod (ut dixi) orientem fermè semper respicit, efferre ipsis nefas, sed fracto ei ex opposito foramine, crati pro sandapila impositum, tanquam per posticam τετράφοροι subinde etiam plures, viribus conspicui vespillones, non humeris sed manibus sublatum, caeterâ sequente pompâ, efferunt, feretrumque juxta sepulchrum abjiciunt.

Denati cucuma, nostratium feni metis non absimile, et quandoque luto oblitum, cratiliis parietibus gypso incrustatis, consanguinei, ut infaustum malique ominis, cum tota demortui supellectile omnique vestitu frivolisque, ne contagium morbi suspectum creditumque vulgetur, in Magosis concremant, attegiisque auguratò mutant: arma verò reliquaque aenea, ferrea aut eburnea vasa, hisque similia utensilia, quasi luis malorum expertia, postquam virorum urinâ lustrata sunt, aut in unum alterumve mensem sub dumo, aëre et pluviâ purganda abjecta jacuerunt, haeredibus cedunt.

⁸¹⁾ This paragraph is taken almost verbatim from the *Stavenisse* report (Molsbergen, iii, 64); those which follow are probably derived from oral information. The description as a whole is reasonably accurate even of modern Xhosa burial customs, although some of the taboos recorded are not mentioned in the same form by Soga (*op. cit.*, 317 ff.).

⁸²⁾ Soga states that the dead man's clothes, sleeping mat, wooden rest, blanket, pipe and other personal articles are buried

Serious business, public or private, is discussed in deep silence and with close attention. A man asserts his dignity not by standing but by sitting. No man thwarts or obstructs his fellow, or interrupts his speech by interjections. A speaker does not attempt to gain his point by whispering one moment and shouting the next, or by pouring out a violent stream of words; but in smooth tones, within the fixed time, and in a gentle manner he argues his point. A white head commands respect. For him the younger men make way, they rise to do him honour, and his advice is always sought.

When the chief dies⁸¹⁾ they shear their locks; skin caps, bonnets and helmets are all cast into the nearest river or mountain stream as a sign of mourning; and, together with their wives and children, in true grief, for twelve months, with uncovered heads and shaven chins the whole people mourns. Not one among them throughout that circling year will anoint himself with the smallest piece of butter or fat, nor in the first month of mourning will he venture to eat curdled milk, but will maintain himself on bread and meat as he best can.

It is forbidden to carry the dead man out through the little door, which, as I have said, always looks East. They break an opening in the opposite direction, lay the body on a hurdle that serves for a bier, and four bearers, sometimes more, conspicuous for their strength, raise it up in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it out through the postern-gate, as I may call it. The rest of the procession follows, and the bier is laid down near the grave.

The deceased's hut, which is pretty much like a hay-cock in our country, except that it is sometimes caulked with mud and the wattled walls plastered with lime, is burned by the relatives as being unlucky and ill-omened, together with all the dead man's furniture, clothing, and effects.⁸²⁾ This is the practice among the Magosi. Its purpose is to prevent the spread of infection which they suspect and believe in. They then consult the auspices and move to a fresh site. The dead man's arms, however, his copper, iron and ivory vessels, and any other similar utensils, are regarded as free from the contagion. They are purged in men's urine, or else cast for a month or two in some thicket to be cleansed by air and rain, after which they pass to the heirs.

with him in the grave (*op. cit.*, 320). He confirms the burning or abandonment of the old homestead and the erection of a new one.

In regimen extincti gnatus natu maximus succedit, patris vitam et mores exprimere studens: non procul inde juxta viam, mortuum rhenoni involutum, in alta fossa, clunibus insedentem, genibus mento admotis, eoque habitu quo in utero matris embrion haesit, terrae gremio pollinctor mandat, interque summum funus ducentium adstantiumque lessum, gemitum, planctumque, et praeficarum ejulatum, confictasque lachrymas, altaque suspiria persolventium justa funebria, defunctique laudes canentium, singultu naeniarum medios impediende sonos, inhumant sepeliuntque, et heroum aggesto silicum acervo, et una alteraque praealta et erecta pertica aut stipite pro cippo aut cenotaphio ornant, novissimeque parentalibus fabulam transalpini claudunt.

Secedentes a monumento, molliter ossa cubent defuncto precantur, obtestantes obsecrantesque eum ne hominibus pecoribusque noceat: quotiescunque conditorium hoc praetereunt, abrasum e vicinia ramulum, aut evulsam è terra herbam, aliave ei insternunt et prostrati, fatum defuncti queruntur, eumque utilitatis publicae commonefaciunt, et causam quaerunt, cur malit illic comploratus desideratusque delitescere, quàm suorum curam redivivus gerere? quod omnia à discessu ejus è vita, praecipiti cursu in pejus vergant, miseratus tandem immerentium maerorem, laborantibus succurrat, rogantes à sepulchro secedunt.

Malè de republica meritum, capite pronum in specum aut ferae antrum pro hypogaeo, nulli lachrymabilem praecipitant, et maledictis lapidibusque obruunt.

Redeunt ab exequiis, protinus se aquâ vicini torrentis aut stagni abluunt, quibus aetate ceteris praevektor, tecto humi orbiculatim sedentibus tanquam lustramento immet; hinc peculiari sacrificio ovis vel bos cadit, excernentesque quaecunque in ejus ventriculo et intestinis reperiunt, illo semet ipsos, pecus, casulamque superstitiosi aspergunt, carnemque omnem epulo ferali devorant.

⁸³⁾ According to Soga, the body is buried in a reclining position, doubled up as described, and not in a sitting position (*op. cit.*, 319-20). The wailing to which G. refers normally takes place not at the graveside, but at the home of the deceased, before the funeral procession sets out. "No religious ceremony takes place at the grave," says Soga, "and no words of condolence or sympathy are uttered. A precatory sentence, however, is often

The eldest son succeeds to the position of chief, and makes it his object to imitate his father's life and character. The interment takes place beside the road not far away. The dead man is wrapped in his kaross and put sitting on his haunches in a deep trench with his knees moved up to his chin; thus, in the position he occupied as an embryo in his mother's womb, he is entrusted to the lap of earth.⁸³⁾ The interment is accompanied by loud wallings and groanings and beatings of the breast from those who have attended the funeral or gathered as spectators; and there is also to be heard the keening of the official women mourners who with forced tears and heavy sighs accomplish the due formalities, hymning the praises of the dead man while deep sobs interrupt their funeral dirges. A mound of stones forms the monument to the departed; one or two lofty poles or posts are erected upon it for a memorial; and a funeral feast forms the last act of the tragic drama.

As they withdraw from the tomb they pray for the dead man that his bones may rest in peace, and they beg and beseech him not to injure man or beast. And whenever they pass his grave, a branch is plucked near by, or a plant pulled from the earth, to strew upon it, and they cast themselves upon their faces and bewail the dead man's fate, reminding him of the public good and asking him how he can lie there hid amid their tears and lamentations instead of rising from the dead to resume the care of his people. Since his departure from this life all things have gone headlong to the bad; let him now pity their unmerited distress and come to the help of his suffering people. Thus praying they depart from the tomb.

An offender against the state is cast headlong into a cave or wild beast's den as into a dungeon. Nobody sheds a tear for him, and they crush him with curses and stones.

Immediately on their return from the funeral they wash themselves in a neighbouring stream or pool. Then they all sit in a circle on the floor of a hut and the eldest among them makes water on them as a lustral bath. Then, as a special sacrifice, a sheep or ox is slain, and, removing whatever they find in its stomach or bowels, the superstitious creatures sprinkle themselves, their cattle, and the hut with it. Finally all the flesh is devoured in a funeral feast.⁸⁴⁾

addressed to the departed, such as 'remember us for good from the place to which you have gone' " (*op. cit.*, 320).

⁸⁴⁾ The washing and sacrificial feast after the funeral are practised by both Hottentots and AmaXhosa, but the besprinkling to which G. refers is a Hottentot custom only.

Mortui bona filiis aequis portionibus haereditate obveniunt, quibus deficientibus, gradu consanguinitatis defuncto propior succedit, et frater fratris bona non pater cernit: novissimè extraneus vocatur, filiabus à paterna fraternaue, et à quacunque alia haereditate semper exclusis; sane jure gentium antiquissimo singulaeve istae finis et principium familiae censentur, parvique aestimantur.

Leonis, pardalis, tigridis, onagri, ovis, aliarumque ferarum pecudumve pellibus, per alutarios hos concinnatis et adipe axungiaque probè maceratis subactisque, tanquam boeta (barbarico ornatu mastrucati) velantur omnes, intimasque quandoque in extimas vertunt, studiosissimique in sua quisque se continere pellicula, veteremque semper retinere: nonnunquam tamen antesignanum aliquem, sua manu strenuum, aut corporis habitu, vel animi magnitudine, altâ formâ aut genere ceteris conspectiorem discoloriâ segmentataque pelle tectum observitavi.

Omnium Afrorum Asianorumque more, haud secus quam oleo, artus quavis pinguedine contra solis, frigoris, morborumque injurias perfricant, diluunt inunguntque: foeditas foetorque quem nostrates illis impingunt, non sordibus, sed potius herbae (Bochu incolis dictae) botanicis Europaeis cognitae, adscribendus, quam lapidibus contusam dispulveratamque, suavi suffimine, praesentissimo amuleto, saluberrimoque diapasmate capiti aspergunt et circumliniunt; hujus herbae odor advenis injuncundus, gravis, insuavisque, sed aliquandiu eum odorantibus non inelegans, fragrans gratusque est.

Magni adhuc faciunt herbam Daggha ipsis appellatam, cujus radículas in placentae formam compactas, magnitudine nummum argenteum, vulgo RDⁿ non excedente, dentibus pari modo, quo Indi opium, aut Aegyptii Oetum, commolunt: unde quidem soporem, sed rablem nunquam sibi conciant.

⁸⁵) This paragraph is based wholly on the *Stavenisse* reports: "Should a son die, his brother and not his father inherits his cattle. When the father dies, the sons inherit in equal proportions, and should there be no male issue strangers inherit in preference

The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.⁸⁵) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?).

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge.

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable.

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians oetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them.

to daughters" (Molsbergen, iii, 65). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property allotted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72).

Eodem in usu pretioque ipsis herba Cannah, forte nostratium cannabis, cujus semina dicerem non multum abhorrere ab illis, quae aliquando Mantuae Carpetanorum in sartagine cum pipere, oleo et sale frixa (canamones Hispanis dicta) degustavi.

Animalium terrestrium, volucrum et acquatiliū, tam domesticorum quam silvestrium immensus, tanquam vivario et ad prodigium numerus, et omnium instar hoc specimen habeas, quod ultrā mille elephantes quandoque gregatim pascantur, quorum aliqui tantae vastitatis, ut alterum eorum dentem (meo calculo cornu) triginta supra centum librarum pondere viderim: nec minor serpentium, amphibiorum, et insectorum multitudo, quorum genera ut plurimum in quatuor et plures species se spargentia, eademque maximam partem nostratibus ignotas, omnibusque scriptoribus incognitas, attonitus animadverti, et ne à fide abhorrentia narrare videar, scias eadem mihi assiduos testes retulisse, et inter caetera visas ipsis pascentes belluas, capite equo similes, oblongo collo, brevi caudā, reliquis vero corporis partibus elephantem referentes adaequantesque, incredibilis penē pernicitatis, adeoque cicures ut mansuefactas crederes; porrō ex ore nonnullorum haud spernendae fidei accepi, visos sibi monocerotes equo statura omnibusque membris simillimos in fronte cornu brachii longitudine et crassitie gestantes ferocissimos: alii quorum fides non vacillat narrant dari illic bicornes equos paris ferocitatis et formā egregios: nonnulli praetendunt se vidisse insignes arduosque silvestres equos catervatim pascentes, et inter illos quosdam nive candidiores, alios carbone nigriores, nonnullos albos, sed jubā caudāque nigrā, et vice versā, quosdam atros, caudā jubāque candidos, omnes Asturconibus praestantiores, quos ob velocitatem Pegasos diceres: Onagrum non minoris pernicitatis et spectatae pulchritudinis fasciis albis nigrisque duorum digitorum latitudine alternatim per totum corpus, ab auribus usque ad caudam et imos talos affabrè striatura

⁸⁶) *Canna* or *Ganna* is identified by Marloth (*Common Names of Plants*, 30) as "several species of *Salsola*". Reference is made to the Hottentot use of it in the notes to the plates accompanying the journal of van der Stel's expedition to Namaqualand. "They

They use for the same purpose and hold in equal esteem the *Canna* plant, which is perhaps our hemp.⁸⁶) The seeds of it do not seem very different from those which I once ate in Madrid, fried in the pan with pepper, oil and salt, and called *canamones* by the Spaniards.

The number of animals here of earth, air, and water, and both domestic and wild, is so prodigious that it is like living in a zoo. Let one example serve for all: more than a thousand elephants sometimes feed together in a herd, and some of them are of such a size that I have seen a single tooth (I should rather call it a horn) that weighed more than one hundred and thirty pounds. The number of snakes, amphibians, and insects is just as great. Each class of them splits up as a rule into four or more species, and these, I am astonished to perceive, are for the most part unknown to the Europeans and unrecognized in the writings of all naturalists. I do not want you to suppose that I am straying from the truth; you must know therefore that the most careful observers have reported the above facts to me, and have told me among other things that they have seen creatures grazing with horses' heads, long necks, short tails, like elephants in the rest of their parts and as big, of an almost incredible swiftness, and at the same time so little shy that they seemed domesticated. I have also heard credible witnesses state that they have seen ferocious unicorns as big as horses and like them in every limb, with a horn on the forehead as long and as thick as your arm. Others, of unimpeachable veracity, say that there are horses here with two horns, equally ferocious and of exquisite beauty. Some profess to have seen fine tall wild horses feeding in herds, and among them some fairer than snow, others darker than coal, some white with black mane and tail, and vice versa, some black with white mane and tail, all of them outclassing the Asturian breed and each a Pegasus in swiftness. I have seen with wonder a zebra of no less speed and rare beauty, artistically striped over his whole body from his ears to his tail and down his legs to the pastern with alternate bands of black and white two fingers thick. It was only in the size of his

generally chew a certain herb called *canna*. They pound it root and stem together between stones and store and preserve it in bags made of sheepskin. In October, when we were approaching the Copper Mountain, everybody was gathering this herb on the surrounding mountains as a supply for the whole year. They use it as the natives of India use *betel* or *areca*. They chew both stem and root almost all day and become thereby intoxicated, so that on account of this effect and its pleasant smell and stimulating taste, one may safely expect some advantage from its workings" (Waterhouse, 162, 165).

dispersum miratus, sola aurium magnitudine ab equo differentem: similem forte Absolon novissimè conscendit.

In Hippopotamo stupendae molis bellua, cui aquam terramque incolendi natura est, superiorem maxillam mobilem, illudque cum crocodilo commune habere observavi, feruntque ejus pinguedinem elixam potamque variis morbis mederi.

In rostro dente timendi apri a venatoribus capti cornu digitum magnitudine non excedens recurvum, quandoque etiam bina ipsus vidi, pariterque tres pluresve apros subterraneos Europaeis incognitos vulgo *aard-varkens*, centum et amplius librarum singulos, auribus praegrandibus et asininis, rostro oblongo, ceterum capite, seta totoque corpore apro simillimos, cauda vero crassâ, porrectâ, coniformi, et in acutum desinente bipedali, nullis dentibus armatos, tremendis autem et cultratis ungulis, quatuor in anterioribus, quinque in posterioribus pedibus, quibus se contra quoscunque insultus tuentur, iisdem sibi cavernam editioribus locis, mox hic mox illic effodiunt, frequenter orienti soli oppositam, ore angusto, quod vix ac ne vix ipsos capit, aditu clementer declivi, et in aliquot cubitus recto tramite provecto, seque magis ac magis pandente, donec in illius extremitate satis amplum recipiendis etiam hominibus cubile orbiculatum convexumque pedibus posterioribus terram, anterioribus obviam usquequaque abrasam ejicientes, excavant: in quo die latent, indeque sub noctem pabulatum egrediuntur nutrientes se formicis, quas exertâ in illarum examina seu nidos tenui et cubitali linguâ, earundemque ova depascuntur: hinc libet suspicari causam, cur ipsorum carnem insulsam insipidamque expertus fuerim: nonnulli narrarunt mihi quod triplo majores quam dixi viderint.

Adnotatum experimento domesticos equos hos longaevos, acerrimos, insignesque esse, quos mandato Patrum Conscriptorum ex Persia, et Javâ, impensiori pretio huc advectos, tanta felicitate et fecunditate auctos videmus,

⁸⁷⁾ Part of this description is derived from the *Stavenisse* crew, who claimed to have seen "two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and colour like the elephant; having a head like the horse, a short tail, but a long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe" (Moodie suggests this may have been the giraffe), and "horses, which they do not catch or tame, although they approach within 10 or 12 paces; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength; some have the tail black, and others white." (Moodie, 432; cf. Molsbergen, iii, 67.)

ears that he differed from a horse. On such a one Absalom may have mounted for his last ride.⁸⁷⁾

I have observed in the case of the hippopotamus, an enormous beast whose nature is to inhabit land and water alike, that he moves his upper jaw, a peculiarity he shares with the crocodile. They say also that the fat of this animal boiled and drunk is a cure for various diseases.

On the snout of a boar with terrible tusks that was taken by hunters I have seen a horn with a backward curve not above a finger in length. On other specimens I have seen two such horns. Furthermore I have seen at least three specimens of an underground boar unknown to Europeans and commonly called earth-pigs (ant-eater). Each of them weighed over one hundred pounds, and had large donkey's ears, a long snout, and for the rest in head, bristle and body resembled a boar, save that its tail was thick, projecting, tapering, and ended at a length of two feet in a sharp point. This creature is armed with no teeth, but has tremendous knife-like claws, four on the front paws, five on the back, with which it protects itself against all attack. With these it also digs a hole for itself, now in one place, now in another, on rising ground. This hole usually faces East, and has a narrow entry barely big enough to admit the animal; it then slopes gently down and continues in a straight course for several cubits, widening out more and more until at the end it forms a vaulted spherical chamber big enough to hold a man. When the ant-eater is hollowing out its den, it keeps casting out with its hind legs the earth that is scraped away in front by the fore-paws. In this cave it lies by day, but at night-fall it comes out in quest of food, feeding on ants or on their eggs, which it licks up by thrusting its thin tongue, which is a foot and a half in length, into a swarm of ants, or an ants' nest. Their diet is, I suppose, the reason that I found their flesh so tasteless and insipid. Some people tell me that they have seen specimens three times as big as I have described.

Experience has shown that the horses for domestic use which the Council imported from Persia and Java at a great price are long-lived, spirited, and excellent in every way⁸⁸⁾. They have thriven so well here and bred so fast that some of the settlers drive round in a coach-and-four,

⁸⁸⁾ Horses were first imported into the Cape from Batavia in 1653; in 1665 they had increased so greatly in number that some were sold by public auction to the farmers, at an average price of £4 16s. (the cost of 4 or 5 fine large oxen); in 1689, they had so far deteriorated in size and condition that some stud horses were imported from Persia to improve the breed (Theal, ii, 38, 158, 357).

ut nonnulli colonorum citis quadrigis, imo sejugibus, Dynast[r]is pares, vehantur, et quandoque denos in varios usus pascant equos, duasque turmas dimacharum sub signis stantes, et ad nutum regentium cum quatuor cohortibus parituras, quotannis lustret Colonia: adhaec regio haec duros progenerat boves, velocitate pares illis quos Indus prope Gangem habet.

Novissimè memorandi occurrunt noxiosissimi canes sylvestres, qui deni vicienique catervatim sursum deorsum venantes, oves vitulosque obvios, protenus ferocissimi hos exenterant, illarumque ubera aut ventrem praelongis acutisque dentibus dilacerant, totumque gregem momento sternunt, ni opilionum provida cura et pecuvariorum canum fide arceantur.

De rhinocerote bicorni, (?)alie, bisonte, bonasso aliisque animalibus scribere supervacaneum habeo, ne tot tantaeque bestiae tibi nauseam pareant (sic): hoc unicum addere placet, à nonnullis mihi narratum esse, quod haustu unius heminae sanguinis harum ferarum, continuò postquam captae sunt, quidam longiori valetudine consumpti convalescerent, nec te latere velim quod nulla bellua hic visa sit, quae non ad homines assurâ adsuescat.

Nil aurâ hac salubrius, nil aëre purius, caelo raro fulgure tonante nec edurante nil tempestatius molliusve, si anniversarium Circium Ornithiasque procaces, gelido ab austro alternis vicibus subinde bacchantes Etesiamque imbricum, pluviaeque prodromum exceperis: quibus aestuantibus, montes vicinos nive et pruinâ in aliquot dies persidente, mense (quod mirandum) Decembri adulto, cum sol vertici nostro proximus, coöpertus, et Julio aquam glacie concretam, et in vallibus grandinem vidi: quae nuper tanta mole cecidit, ut civis cujusdam praetextatus praepetumque notarum filius, quatuor è Promontorio milliariibus, mancipio stipatus, per deserta domum rediens, prae frigore cum comite enectus sit. Porro discordia ventorum tanta est, ut quatuor naves in nostro portu in anchoris una stantes, et singulam singulum ventum nonnunquam respicientem, nimirum unam Euro, alteram Gauro, tertiam Caeciae, ultimamque Africo prorâ obversam simul viderim: nec minor eorundem inconstantia, cum sua quisque vice alter alterum, una eademque die quandoque excipiat, quod communi omnium sententia probatum, quotquot navigant, testantium se in flectendis Promontoriis maximas ventorum mutationes saepe sensisse.

or even a coach-and-six, like princes, and sometimes keep as many as ten horses for various purposes. Every year, too, along with the four cohorts of infantry the Colony reviews two squadrons of dragoons, ranged under their colours and very obedient to their leaders. This place also produces very hardy oxen, as swift as those found in India near the Ganges.

Finally must be mentioned the very destructive wild dogs, which hunt up and down in packs of ten or twenty; when they come on sheep or calves, with the utmost savagery they promptly disembowel some and tear the udders and bellies of others with their long sharp teeth. In a moment they destroy a whole flock unless the watchful herds or trusty dogs can keep them off.

About the two-horned rhinoceros, the eland, the bison, the bonassus, or hairy bull, and other animals, I think it unnecessary to write. I am afraid so many huge beasts may disgust you. There is only this I should like to add: I have been told by several people that on drinking half a pint of the blood of one of these animals immediately after its being taken, patients who have long languished in sickness have recovered. Nor would I have you ignorant that there is no animal that has been seen here of which the flesh when roasted is not suitable to men.

Nothing could be more wholesome than the air here, more clear than the atmosphere, more mild and temperate than the sky which but rarely thunders and lightens and then not for long. Exception must be made only of the blustering gales that blow every year from various quarters in the chilly South, and of the showery trade wind, the harbinger of rain. When these are raging I have seen the neighbouring mountains covered for several days with snow and frost, even in the middle of December, when the sun here is at its zenith, which is a very remarkable thing. In July I have seen water covered with ice, and hail in the valleys. Indeed lately hail of such size fell that a youth in his teens, a promising lad, the son of one of our citizens, was killed. He was coming home through the wilds with a slave, and he and his companion were overtaken by the storm four miles from the Cape and died of cold. Furthermore the struggle between the winds is sometimes so great that I have seen four ships riding at anchor together in our harbour all facing different winds at the same time, one East, one North West, a third North East, and the last South West. Even if but one wind blows at a time, it is very unsteady, shifting its quarter often in one and the same day, a fact supported by the universal testimony of all sailors, who state that in rounding the Cape they have often been aware of the greatest changes in the wind.

Campi quo remotiores a nobis, eo magis graminosi, herbidi, cultoribusque ingeniosi: armentis, pecudibus, aliisque animalibus, adhaec omni genere ferarum, veluti theriotrophio, (ut dixi) scatentes, saltusque ingentium belluarum adeo feraces, ut hominibus parum sit periculi a leone aliave fera, cum praeda tam domesticarum mansuefactarumque quam indomitae bestiarum, quae facili assultu, minori etiam sui cum periculo, quam si hominibus ut plurimum armatis insidietur, dilaceranda passim obvia.

Latomiae et montes variis metallis gravidis: solum nonnunquam gemmis dives, umbrosis nemoribus, praealtis crassisque arboribus, construendis domibus navibusque luxurians: quibus accedunt variae arbores, quarum fructuum feritas, haud dubie colendo molliri posset, inter caeteras oleastellos vidi, maximopere saepiusque commendatos, sed hactenus, quo fato me latet, neglectos, forte quia ejus cultura ignoratur, nec reperitur qui olei confectionem didicerit.

Prope nos multiplicia arva, variaque naturâ, et in uno jugo aut versu quandoque tria quatuorve glebarum genera: hic male pinguis arena, illic sabulum, ibi argilla, mox uligo, lutum, silices rupesque. Hinc fit (ut opinor) quod frumenti solum laetas segetes non uno eodemque tempore simul maturas fundat, aliae enim aliis citius maturescunt: qua etiam de causa colonus cererem non uno tenore quo coepit, sed tantum adultam falcibus aptam, mox hoc mox illo sulco, falculam ab immatura segete avertens, metit.

Sol gravis raro arva aut herbas urit, rariusque carbunculatio: non ligone aut pastino, sed urpice terram Africanæ mulieres interioris cardinis fodiunt, quibus usitata consuetudine et majorum exemplo ad hoc usque tempus id perfrequens.

Cisalpini Afri addictè modicâ mercede operam suam locantes, Messenis serviliores famulantur, manusque operi insuetas gnaviter admovent. Pecus scabrum cteniatrici feliciter curant, illudque pecuarii fidi pascere percallent. Boves ad usum agrestem formant: jumenta jugunt, ducunt et disjungunt, essedarii, jugarii et aurigarii solertissimi: quidam expediti in equo, quem fundere et flectere didicere, ita ut Sarmatam aliquem patentibus campis inequantem

The more distant the veld is from us, the more grassy it is, the richer in plants, and the more suited to cultivation. It abounds in oxen and sheep and other animals, as well as every kind of wild beast, so that, as I have said, it is like a zoo; and the mountain glades are so full of huge creatures that there is little danger to man from lions or other wild animals, for there is everywhere ready for them to rend and tear a supply of victims both domesticated and wild which they can easily pounce upon with less danger to themselves than if they attacked men who are generally armed.

There are quarries, and the mountains are pregnant with various metals. Sometimes the soil is rich in gems. And the abundant shady woods and tall stout trees are suited for constructing both houses and ships. Also there are the many wild fruit trees which could without doubt be improved by cultivation. Among others I have seen a species of olive, often warmly praised but as yet, through what chance I know not, neglected. It may be that the method of cultivation is unknown, and that no one has been found who understands the manufacture of the oil.

Near us are many fields of various kinds; that is to say, in a length of one hundred feet you will often find three or four kinds of soil: there barren sand, there gravel, elsewhere clay, and then marsh, mud, flint and rocks. This is the reason, I think, that the ground under corn does not yield crops that ripen uniformly at the one time, but some patches are more advanced than others. So a farmer does not steadily carry out the mowing of the crops once he begins, but turning his reaping-hook from the unripe corn, he goes now along this furrow, now along that, selecting what is ready for the sickle.

The sun is rarely so hot as to scorch the crops; blight is still rarer. The women of the interior, to whose lot this task even at the present day, from old custom and ancestral precedent, still falls, do not dig the soil with mattock or dibble, but with a rake.

The natives on this side of the mountain enthusiastically hire out their labour for a modest wage, and toil more submissively than Spartan helots. They are apt in applying their hands to unfamiliar tasks. Thus they readily acquire the veterinary skill to cure scab in sheep, and they make faithful and efficient herds. They train oxen for use in ploughing; and if put in charge of a wagon, coach or cart, they are found exceedingly quick at inspanning or outspanning or guiding a team. Some of them are very accomplished riders, and have learned to break horses and master them. You would swear it was a Sarmatian galloping over the open plain. Runaways, vagrants and

jurares: drapetas, erroneos fugitivosque tam liberos quam servos reprehendunt, retrahunt, domumque spe praemii reducunt. Bajuli, corbulones, geruli, angari, hemerodromi fidissimi: lignarii, fornacarii, lixae, pampiniatores, vindemiatoresque et in calcatorio torcularii seduli: silvestrem agrum extricant, elapidatumque pastino, ligone aut bipalio fodiunt, manumque buri sine laxamento admovent, sementem faciunt, terram rastris insectantur, deoccant, lirant cratiuntque: irpicibus dirunciunt, eruncantque ex agro, vinea hortoque herbas, magnamque in messe quam demetunt operam indefessi praestant, capite hedera convolvulisque redimito, quo aestuantium radiorum solarium rigorem corymbiferi infringant, diceresque te bacchantium agmen videre, per omnia Afris nostris simillimum, nisi quod illi[s] dextrâ poculum vibrantes, vino madeant, dum hi una manu falculam altera culmos tenentes messorum, areatores, evannatoresque acriter desudant.

Horum mulieres filiaeque non infideles lotrices, nec gerariae indiligentes: patinas omniaque vasa coquinaria eluere, sordesque everrere et sarrire, facesque ex agris undecunque colligere, focum accendere, coquulae apprimere norunt, Batavis parvo famulae.

Palam est quod sine horum Davorum opera, acrius coloni nostri licet fortissimi agris laboribusque suis ingemiscerent: sed proh dolor! nimia felicitate (ut assolet) torpescentes, tanquam Salmacidis spoliis, sine sudore aut labore partis, enervantur multi.

Non ingratum tibi, nec abs re fore arbitror si narravero me vidisse Afram, cui pro diurno labore in gabata a quodam Belga analecta dabantur, quae laeta haud aliter quam pipans gallina pullos convocat, suos conclamans populares, eis capturam tanquam in diribitorio dilargitur, vix bucellam sibi servans, hacque bonorum communione promiscue gaudent omnes, ita ut tubulus nicotiani accensus ab ore ad os omnium accurrentium perambulat, donec in fumum et cineres tabacum conversum sit. A Barbaris certare beneficiis Christiani discant.

Rigandae terrae crebri fontes, rivuli, amnesque limpidissimi saluberrimique non desiderantur, quorum incredibilis pelluciditas et dulcedo saepius sitim mihi adeo aut provocavit aut auxit, ut dixisses me sub Jerubbaalis signis novissimae lustrationis militare.

⁸⁹⁾ An excellent, if rather eulogistic, description of the way in which the Hottentots were being employed as servants by the European farmers. Most of the domestic labour, of course, was done by imported slaves, but many of the farmers already had Hottentots as well (*cf.*, e.g., *The Diary of Adam Tas*, *passim*).

deserters they arrest and bring back home in hope of a reward. They make trusty bearers, porters, carriers, post-boys and couriers. They chop wood, mind the fire, work in the kitchen, prune vines, gather grapes, or work the wine press industriously. They clear wild ground, and when the stones have been picked out of it, break it up with dibble, hoe, or mattock. Without relaxation they plough, sow, and harrow. From field, vineyard or garden they clean out the weeds with their rakes, and at harvest time they exert themselves indefatigably, their heads bound with ivy and convolvulus so that the green clustering leaves may mitigate the fierceness of the sun's burning rays. A troop of Bacchic revellers you might say, and indeed the resemblance is complete save that the followers of Bacchus brandished goblets in their hands and were drenched with wine, whereas our natives at the harvest have a sickle in one hand and the corn stalks in the other, and whether harvesting, threshing, or winnowing are drenched in sweat.

Their wives and daughters make reliable washerwomen and busy chars. They wash plates and dishes, clean up dirt, gather sticks from the fields round-about, light the fires, cook well, and provide cheap labour for the Dutch.⁹⁰⁾

It is perfectly plain that without the aid of these slaves, our farmers, stout fellows though they be, would be groaning bitterly over their toil in the fields. But, oh, the shame of it! as usual too much good fortune has bred sloth, and many are enervated as if by the spoils of Salmacis, won without toil or sweat.

It will not bore you, I think, and it will be *à propos*, if I tell you that I have seen a Hottentot woman, who in return for a day's labour had been given some scraps in a platter by a certain Dutchman. She began to crow with delight like a hen gathering her chickens, calling her people together and making a regular distribution of her booty among them, and hardly keeping a mouthful for herself. All alike delight in this communion of goods.⁹⁰⁾ Even a pipe of tobacco when kindled is passed round from mouth to mouth of the crowd that keeps running up, until the weed has vanished into smoke and ash. Let the Christians learn from the natives to vie with one another in well-doing.

For the irrigation of the soil there is no lack of limpid, wholesome springs, streams and rivers, the incredible clearness and sweetness of which has often so occasioned or increased my thirst that you would have declared me to be a soldier of Jerubaa! at the last testing.⁹¹⁾

⁹⁰⁾ See above, p. 47.

⁹¹⁾ Judges, 7, 4-6.

Terra Cerere et uvis ferax, copiâ rerum, omni commeatu et annonae affluentia abundans, etiam nicotiano, virtute Americano pari, si cultura accedat: fruges mira largitate, et nonnunquam messem cum quadragesimo faenore ferens: ex semine triticio, centum uno minus culmos, totidemque spicas, et in una fricta quinque supra septuaginta grana cum maximè, stupenda fecunditate, Sricula non inferiore, numero.

Extensissimos campos gethyum sylvestre, aliaque quae ad victum conducunt, ferentes, vastaue loca epimenidiis, ulpico, ascalonia, atractylide, caepula, et ampeloprasso plena, ex fide dignis accipio: ipsusque vidi agros ambugia refertos, quam edulem aliquoties legi, cum acidulis, corrudaque variarum specierum.

Ostensa mihi arva viginti abhinc annis et forte à condito mundo in illum usque diem rudia et ab natura et ab humano cultu vasta, quae triticum, bis aut ter saltem toto illo quadrilustro cessata, nullo fumo* adjuta et nudo duntaxat aratro levi sulco versa, copiosa messe, quolibet anno minime defrugata tulerunt, et tum cum maxime in herbis stantem luculentam pollicebatur.

Taleam seu putamen mali duorum pedum depactum coäluisse, eique anno post surculum mali insertum, eumque intra annum fructum maturum protulisse succurrit, vitemque mense Junio satam, Decembri insequente uvas inaudita fertilitate edidisse narrant, omnesque fruges exoticas quas alma Europa, fertilis Asia, grataque cultoribus America laxo sinu fundit, hic felicissime in acroteriis nostris, si paucas exceperis, abunde percipi, nec colonorum spem fallere, manifestum est.

In brassicas capitatas et apianas tantae molis incidi, ut quamlibet earum vix ahenum coquendam caperet; parisque magnitudinis buniades vidi, quibus eundo fessus tanquam sediculae insedi. Betas adhaec me coram carnosas pulvinis effoderunt, viri brachium crassitie et longitudine adaequantes, his similia legumina stupefactus conspexi, et magis dum omnia jucundissime sapida expertus.

Tam largo hic pubescit vinea fetu, ut ex octingentis Appianis vitibus, sed** cados (vulgo *orhoofden*) praestantissimo vino helveolo, rubello aut gilvo una vindemia se replevisse ex idoneo colono habeam, et communi omnium sententiâ accepi. vitem nostram vernaculam adeo mitem

* Read *fimo*.

** Read *sex*.

The soil, which is fruitful both of corn and wine, provides a copious plenty of provisions and supplies. It even yields tobacco, which, if it were cultivated, would rival the American. The grain crop is wonderfully abundant, the increase of the harvest being sometimes forty-fold. I count ninety-nine stalks and as many ears from one grain of wheat, and in one ear which I rubbed out there were seventy-five grains. This is an astonishing yield, equal even to that of Sicily.

I have it on reliable authority that there are wide plains bearing wild onions and other vegetables suitable for food, and huge tracts of land full of supplies, such as leeks, shallots, edible thistles, spring onions and garlick. I have myself seen fields full of ambugia, which I have sometimes gathered and found fit for eating, together with *aciduli*(?) and wild asparagus of various species.

Fields have been shown to me which twenty years ago, and perhaps from the creation to that day, were a rude waste on which neither nature nor man had grown anything. But for the last twenty years they have been well sown, and with only two or three fallow periods in all that time, with no manure, and after the slightest turning of the surface with the plough, they have yielded an abundant harvest of wheat. At the time I saw them the corn was in the blade and promised a rich crop.

I remember that a sprig or cutting of an apple-tree two feet long took root when planted. A year later a slip was grafted on to it, and within the year it bore ripe fruit. Also a vine planted in June bore grapes the following December. Such fertility is unprecedented. But indeed all the fruits of other lands, those which genial Europe, fertile Asia, and America, the farmer's joy, pour from their open lap, can with few exceptions be seen flourishing here on our promontory and never disappointing the hopes of the husbandman.

I have seen heads of cabbage and marrows so big that hardly a pot could be found to hold them. The turnips here are equally large, so much so that I have used one for a stool when I got tired walking. Beets have been dug out of a bank in my presence so fleshy that they were as long and as thick as a man's arm. Such vegetables it has astonished me to behold, and the more so on finding them all deliciously flavoured.

Our vines here bear so well that a reliable farmer told me that in one vintage from eight hundred choice vines he got six casks (commonly called hogsheds) of excellent pale-red, dark-red, or yellow wine. And everybody assures me that the native vine produces so mellow a grape that

educare uvam, ut helluonibus racemorum nunquam noceat, licet se bumammis ingurgitent: imo quod ex longa navigatione aegros, laboribus fractos, ipsosque dysentericos et torminosos, praesertim si cum acinis eorundem cutem admixtâ panis offula simul commedant, tanquam panchresto medicamento frequentissimè, morbidosque alios curet.

Porro terra haec perpetuis quasi apricis floribus vernat, quorum odor excitatissimus et aspectus jucundissimus: cui accedit quod montes, colles, prata, nemora, omnesque loci, herbis, fructibus, seminibus, aromaticisque adeo referti, ut herbidam Hispaniam horum fecunditati comparatam, Arabiae desertis Libyaëque solitudini similiorer dicerem, quae adolentia naribus, tam grata expertus, ut me totum nasum aliquando optaverim odoribus satiandum, omnes pastillos, quaecunque suffimenta, et Sabaeorum thuribula suâ fragrantia superantibus, suavitateque omnibus Italorum seplasiis, Iberorumque pharmacopolarum, aromatariorum, et myriopolarum officinis tantum praestare sensi, quantum rosa calthae: cunctosque Omnipotentis Artificis dextram structurâ, omnibus numeris absolutissimâ, subtiliter ductâ, stupendum in modum variâ, nitidâ, et non uno genere formosâ testari, et odorum dulcedine clamitare Deum! Deum! annoque converso renascentes imagine symbolica hominum a mortuis non obscure resurrectionem docere.

Non est quod colonus locustas, grandinem, rubiginem, uriginem, aliasve calamitates messui noxias, multum hic metuat: volucres tamen ni attentantium solertiâ vigilacique ut plurimum barbarorum curâ arceantur, subinde arvum, vineam hortumque populantur: adhaec raucae, scolopendrae, erucæ, cyniphes, convolvuli, scarabaei aliaque insecta tantæ tenuitatis ut vix in conspectum cadant, aciemque nostrorum oculorum paenè effugiant, nonnunquam vitem graminaque triticia tenera, et nondum in culmum excreta, poma, pisa similiaque legumina depascuntur, et cum vermiculatione agricolae expectationem misere frustrantur.

Nulla hic rustico vectigalia imposita, certè perexigua, decimas saltem frumenti coacti, proprioque calculo subducti, pendit quarto anno postquam excoluerit fundum,

it never injures the greatest glutton, even if he consumes whole bunches of the largest size. Indeed it is maintained that men invalided after a long voyage, their health broken by their sufferings, and perhaps afflicted with dysentery and gripes, have often been cured as if by a specific on eating berries and their skins together with a little bread. Sufferers from other diseases have also, it is said, been cured.

Then in this land there is, I might almost say, everlasting spring, by reason of the sunny flowers with their lively scents and gay liveries. Here too are mountains, hills, valleys, meadows, groves, all so filled with grasses, and shrubs, with grain, and aromatic herbs, that verdant Spain compared with such fertility would show like the barren deserts of Arabia or Libya. So sweet have I found the breath of these scents in my nostrils that at times I could have wished myself all nose the better to sate myself with perfumes the fragrance of which was as far beyond all pastiles and incense, and Sabaeen thuribles, all the perfumeries of Italy and pharmacies of Spain, the shops of the dealers in spices, and the vendors of myrrh, as a rose is sweeter than a marigold. All these flowers proclaim the hand of the Omnipotent Creator in their structure, so perfect are they in all their parts, so delicate in design, so infinitely various, so bright, so manifold in their shapes of beauty; with the sweetness of their scent they seem to cry aloud God! God!; and as they spring up anew each returning year they show forth plainly in a symbol the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

The farmer here has no great cause to fear locusts, hail, blight, mildew or other disasters to his crops. The birds, however, unless prevented, as they usually are, by the skill and wakeful vigilance of the natives on guard, do sometimes ravage a field, a vineyard, or a garden. And there are root-worms, centipedes, canker-worms, caterpillars, beetles, as well as other insects so small that they are scarcely visible but almost elude the sight of our eyes, which sometimes devour vines, young corn not yet grown into the stalk, fruits, peas, and other similar vegetables. The crops are wormed, and the farmers wretchedly cheated of their hopes.

No tax, or at any rate a very small one, is laid upon the farmer. All that is required of him is that in the fourth year after he has begun to cultivate his farm he should pay a tithe of the grain harvested according to his own calculations; and the farm is given free to each man by

gratis in singulos a Societatis nostrae Patribus, sexaginta ut plurimum jugerum, quandoque immetatorum descriptum.

Novi colonum frugi hominem, qui anno MDCLXXII hic ex Europa appellens, fauces loculosque araneantes, et nihil praeter Bionis censum apportabat, qui civitate donatus, nunc trium quatuorve praediorum, domesticorum et usibus capacium, instructissimarumque aedium et plus octo millium tam armentorum jumentorumque, quam ovium capitum, et triginta mancipiorum dominus, cui decem et plures mercede conducti Europaei in famulatu sunt, quorum operâ subinde ultra mille modiorum tritici messem cogit, et ex una vindemia plures triginta cados vini generosissimi Falerno Massicoque non inferioris in labro videt, et quidquid tangit crescere tanquam favus, omnibusque copiis circumfluens, honoribus laudibus, amicisque abundat: auri adhaec argentineque tam signati quam* praedives, paucisque annis ad maximas pecunias pervenit. Autumoque Europam agricolam ab omni parte beatiorem copiosoremque vix nostro aevo vidisse. En quae sutori calceus dare valet! et procul dubio, plures ejusdem fastigii cives, hic ei opibus pares aut superiores, omnium solum auro subpactum videremus, si rebus suis pari qua hic sollicitudine et quâ decet curâ, attentis quaesitis invigilarent, sed majorem partem per fas et nefas, Afros et Laomedontes perfidia vincentes, et ad quaestum calentes et caligantes, sua bona non norunt, quae ut parta, ita dilabuntur: alii satietate ubi famem parant, elephantes balenasque deglutientes, et quo plura habent, eo acrius quae non habent cupiunt, amorque pudendi lucri, aurique sitis cum auro crescit, cujus omnes vias norunt, omniaque ejus causâ faciunt, Tolosanum esse, malaque ad se trahere, ut caecias nubes, luce meridiana clarius liquet, tertiumque heredem eorum bonis gaudere nunquam visum, et ut nudi hic appulerunt, sic etiam justo Dei judicio nudi, helluantes coloniae sanguinem, dilapidatis omnibus rebus, plurimum murcidi asotique moriuntur.

* Some word has fallen out, probably *rudis*.

⁹²⁾ When S. v. d. Stel founded the settlement at Stellenbosch (1679-80), he offered prospective colonists as much land as they could cultivate, with the privilege of selecting it for themselves anywhere in the Stellenbosch valley. "It was to be theirs in full property, and could be reclaimed by the Company only upon their ceasing to cultivate it. Like all other landed property in the (Cape) settlement, it was burdened with the payment of a tithe of the grain grown upon it and not consumed by the owner"

the Council of the Company, and generally consists of sixty acres, sometimes of an unspecified amount.⁹²⁾

I know a thrifty farmer here who arrived from Europe in the year 1672. He was then as poor as a church mouse, without bite or sup, or a penny in his pocket. He was made a burgher and is now owner of three or four farms of his own, capable of supplying every need; of a well-furnished house; and of more than 8,000 head of cattle, including oxen and sheep, not to speak of thirty slaves. He has more than ten Europeans in his employment. He sometimes harvests more than 1,000 bushels of wheat, and from a single vintage he gets more than thirty brimming casks of noble wine as good as Falernian or Massic. Whatever he touches grows imperceptibly like the honey-comb, and he is now over-flowing with wealth, authority, honour, and friends. He possesses huge sums of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, and in a few years has come to great riches. I venture to assert that Europe has hardly seen in our time a farmer more completely blessed with all good things. See what the cobbler gets by sticking to his last! And without doubt we should see more citizens in the same exalted position, equal or superior to him in wealth, without doubt there is solid gold beneath the surface of every farm, if only all attended to their affairs with the same solicitude and with a proper zeal, and watched over their grains. But for the most part they are quite unscrupulous. More dishonest than the Carthaginians or Laomedon, both eager and blind in their pursuit of gain, they do not know their own good, and no sooner do they make anything than it is squandered. By present feasting they prepare future fasting, swallowing down elephants and whales; the more they have, the more eagerly do they desire what they have not; the love of filthy lucre, and the thirst for gold, grow with the possession of it; they know all paths to it, and stick at none. But it is clearer than the noonday sun that such gain brings a curse; as the North-East wind gathers clouds, so it draws troubles upon itself. It has never been seen that a third heir rejoiced in their possessions. Naked they came to these shores, and by the just judgment of God they die naked, drunk with the blood of the colony, their fortunes squandered, sunk in sloth and rottenness.

(Theal, ii, 252). The tithes were at first not very rigidly demanded, and were collected only upon grain brought to Cape Town for sale, but after 1709 the burghers were required to pay one-tenth of all the grain grown by them, and as the quantity was known only from their own declarations, this tax had an extremely bad effect upon the character of the people (Theal, iii, Index, s.v. "Tithes of grain"; cf. also *Diary of Adam Tas*, passim).

Plures quadraginta naves tam Societatis nostrae, quam variarum gentium hic quotannis appellunt, quarum navitae, corpora curantes, viribus refectis, et coempto commeatu, plus minusve mille argenteos nummos, quaelibet pro pane, carne, vino, cervisia, oleribus, caeterisque cibariis inemptis, nonnullisque mercibus larga manu sumptuosa pendit, aereque suo emuncti proficiscentes, colonis his nullum aliud sui desiderium relinquunt, quam quod metuunt, non pro voto ditiores conductò propediem redituros.

Patriam ipsorum linguam aliqua cum Hebraeorum idiomate communia habere opinor, nam videtur ex gutturalibus, dentalibus, lingualibus aliisque vocalibus labris illuctantibus, nobisque pronuntiatio asperis conflata: nec abhorret à vero, eam variis constare dialectis, nec passim eandem, cum ex quibusdam qui in abdita regionis penetrare, acceperim, testantibus se in gentes varias linguis incidisse, quibuscum illis nullum omnimodo sermonis commercium nisi per interpretes erat: aliis nonnulla ipsorum vocabula intellecta, ceterum nutu signisque locutos.

Indiculum quarundam vocum rerumque peregrinantibus apprimè necessarium, ex vernacula procul hinc degentium indigenarum lingua compilavi qui excursoribus nostris eò aliquando delapsis, aut consultò tendentibus, aliquatenus prodesse poterit, et quantum conjectura consequi licet, idioma hoc maturum divesque: e.g. *Caye Mansine*, navem interpretatum denotat, voce composità ex *Caye*- domus, et *Mansine* mediâ productâ, aqua i.e. domus aquatica, non absono inclinamento pro nave: et simili verborum deductione ac etymologia in aliis*

Huic adjicere non abs re fore mihi visum unum exemplum numerorum ad denarium usque, tam in Magosis quam hic apud Afros nostros frequentatorum, quorum utrorumque discrimen pateat, liceatque aliquando (si libet) alteri cuidam Bocharo, exoticarum linguarum perito, eorundem originem indigare, videlicet:—

* The MS. shows no stop, and the sentence seems incomplete.

^{92a)} This list does not form part of the MSS. The text suggests that it was a vocabulary of Xhosa, and not of Hottentot, although, as we have already seen, G. subsequently compiled a long Hottentot vocabulary upon which both Valentyn and Kolb drew (see above p. 162, 164).

More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.^{92a)} It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye mansine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *mansine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*⁹³⁾, i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from one to ten as in use both among the Magosi and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochart⁹⁴⁾, skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

⁹³⁾ In modern Xhosa, *i-Kaya*=home, domicile, and *amanzi*=water; *mansine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanzini*.

⁹⁴⁾ Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oordt in his Dutch trans. of G.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Molsbergen, iv, 297.)

In Magosis	Mounje	unum	In Promontorio Bonae Spei	chiu
	Mabile (media producta)	duo		kham
	Matato (penult. longa)	tria		nhona
	Seine vel Mane	quatuor		haka
	Meslano	quinque		kouru
	Mestandato	sex		nanni
	Nounje	septem		hunkou
	Ulnane	octo		kheysi
	Pete	novem		ghesi
	Chiumi	decem		glssi
	Chiumi mabile	viginti		khamglissi
	Chiumi matato	triginta		nhonagissi

Mea sententia nostrates hic citius expeditiusque Hottentoticam addiscent linguam, quam Barbari Belgico commodè loqui sermone scient: more proh dedecus! praepostero, cum merito Belgas non latere deberet, quam firmum sit unionis vinculum linguae commercium, illudque esse ingens adminiculum populis in officio et quiete continendis: exemplo veterum Romanorum in suis provinciis, et cum maximè Hispanorum Lusitanorumque in utraque tam orientali quam occidentali India probatissimo; sed pudet scribere nostros plurimum ad opes et luxuriam magis, quam ad commodum utilitatemque publicam spectare, qui quum merito omnes curas, vigilias cogitationesque suas in Provinciae hujus salute configerent, discerentque ab Hispanis exemplo cum Jove coloniarum fundamenta jacere, sacranti-

⁹⁵⁾ The Xhosa numerals are not listed in the *Stavenisse* accounts and must therefore have been derived orally from one of the survivors. Their modern forms (retaining the class prefixes as given by G.) are as follows: 1. omnye, 2. amabini, 3. amatatu, 4. ezine or amane, 5. emihlanu, 6. emitandatu, 10 ishumi, 20. mashumi (a) mabini, 30. mashumi (a) matatu. The words given for 7, 8, 9 do not correspond at all with the modern Xhosa forms, which are: isixenxe, isiboza and itoba respectively. (McLaren, *Kafir Grammar*, 68).

Among the Magosi	Mounje	one	At the Cape	Chiu
	Mabile (the middle syllable long)	two		Kham
	Matato (the penult long)	three		Nhona
	Seine or mane	four		haka
	Meslano	five		kouru
	Mestandato	six		nanni
	Nounje	seven		hunkou
	Ulnane	eight		kheysi
	Pete	nine		ghesi
	Chiumi	ten		gissi
	Chiumi mabile	twenty		khamgissi
	Chiumi matato	thirty		nhonagissi ⁹⁵

In my opinion the Dutch here will more quickly and expeditiously learn the language of the Hottentots, than the natives will acquire a good speaking knowledge of Dutch. This, alas, is the reverse of what ought to obtain. The Dutch ought to be aware how firm a bond of union a common language is, and how powerful a means it is of keeping peoples loyal and peaceful. We have the authoritative precedent of the ancient Romans, and more especially of the Spaniards and Portuguese in the Indias, east and west. But, I am ashamed to say, our countrymen for the most part pay more heed to gain-getting and soft living than to the public advantage and good. They ought to devote all their cares, all their thoughts, all their working hours to the well-being of this province; from the example of the Spaniards, who in such circumstances dedicate a church to Omnipotent God and know that all

The Hottentot numerals correspond fairly closely to the modern Nama and Korana forms, except that, as usual, the clicks have not been indicated. The modern Korana numerals, as recorded by Meinhof, are as follows: 1. /ui, 2. /am, 3. !nona, 4. haka, 5. goro, 6. !nani, 7. hau-kx'u, 8. //xaisi, 9. guesi, 10. tjisi, 20. /am tjisi, 30. !nona tjisi. (*Der Koranadialekt*, 41.)

bus Deo T.O.M. aedem, gnavisque omnia prospere evenire colentibus Divos, nec praeposteri cruces et patibula coërcendis sceleribus initio erigere, salutemque Reip: ex lege in qua jurati sunt, supremam debere esse, sed praecipites ruentes auctoritati, mandatis, statutisque Patrum Conscriptorum Societatis nostrae S.S. illudentes, corradunt per omne fas et nefas everriculo pecuniam, virtutem post nummos habent, nimiumque Reformatores hi (Deformatores parum abest quin dicam) in Calvinii verba jurantes nil bonis operibus, omnia gratiae tribuunt, nil virtuti, minusque merito dant, contractuum innominatorum Do ut Des, Facioque ut Facias etc. defensores studiosissimi, caeterum patrii juris rudissimi, hinc eorum imperium Abderitico per omnia simillimum, stolideque despoticum diceres, dum veniam corvis datam, imbellesque columbas censuram vexare, protegi soutes, immeritos premi, scelerique murum dari videres: quam ob rem ne mireris si dixerò me plura indicia non adumbratae sed expressae pietatis, probitatis, fortitudinis, ingenuitatis, aliarumque virtutum signa in Europa una die vidisse, quam tot tantisque stipendiorum curriculis, quibus sub signis Societatis nostrae merui, inter commilitones nostros observaverim: citra tamen paucas illas horas, quibus sacris interfui divinisque adstiti, et quibus consuetudini familiaritatieque Praenobilium D.D. van Reede, van Goëns, van Beveren, van Rhee, Heinsii, Paets, rerum mearum non infidelibus arbitris, aliisque viris natalium splendore, doctrina meritisque conspicuis me applicui, cum propter eorum summam rerum Societatis Indicae agendarum experientiam, tum propter singularem in me affectum. Etsi fractus illabatur orbis, sciamque omnes homines mihi inimicos capiendos esse, dicam quae sentio, cum moderamine tamen tutelae inculpatae, scapham appellans scapham: vir Rev^{de}., huc omnia reciderunt, ut tanquam Pelopis domi, nusquam sit tuta fides, non marito a conjuge, nec conjux (sic) a marito, non patri à filio, nec filio a patre, non hospiti ab hospite, non socero a genero satis cautum, fratrum quoque gratia rara, rarique boni, numero vix sunt totidem quot Thebarum portae, vel Divitis ostia Nili, nullaque tam destestabilis pestis quae non homini ab homine hic nascatur, qui tandem laterum

things prosper with those who worship the heavenly powers, they would be wise to learn that the foundations of a colony must not be laid without the blessing of God, that it is a mistake to begin by erecting crosses and gibbets for the suppression of crime, and that the safety of the state into the service of which they are sworn, comes before all. Instead they rush heedless on, caring nothing for the authority, commands, and decrees of the Council of our Company, ruthlessly sweeping all the money they can into their drag-net, despising virtue in comparison with cash, enthusiastic Reformers (I am tempted to call them Deformers), who having sworn allegiance to Calvin allow nothing now to good works and everything to grace; they ascribe nothing to virtue and still less to merit; they are zealous champions of innominate contracts: *Do ut des, facioque ut facias etc.*, but for the rest know nothing of their country's law. Hence their rule may be likened to the warning examples of antiquity in its stupid despotism; they pardon the ravens and punish the doves, protect the guilty and oppress the innocent, and give the place of honour to crime. You must not then be surprised if I say that in one day in Europe I have seen more evidences of piety, honesty, courage, innocence, and other virtues, and not the mere promise of these virtues but their fulfilment, than I have seen among my colleagues here in all my long years of service with the Company. I wish only to make exception of the few hours I have spent in divine service and in the worship of God, and those in which I have devoted myself to familiar friendship with the reverend and noble gentlemen, van Reede, van Goens, van Beveren, van Rhee, Heinz and Paets, who know me well and the truth of what I say, as well as other gentlemen conspicuous for birth, learning, or good works; with all these I have been glad to associate both by reason of their great experience in the conduct of the Company's affairs and their notable affection for me. But though the sky should fall, and though I knew that I should make all men my enemies, I would say what I think, with the reservation of not blaming the administration, calling a spade a spade. Reverend Sir, things have come to this pass that, as in the house of Pelops, so here there is nowhere any sure reliance; a husband cannot be too much on guard against his wife, nor a wife against a husband, a son against a father, nor a father against a son, friend against friend, or father-in-law against son-in-law. Love between brothers is rare; good men are rare; there are hardly as many as the gates of Thebes or the mouths of rich Nile; and there is no crime so abominable that it is not plotted by man against man. We now begin to fear

suorum ensem timere coeperunt. Redeamus a diverticulo in viam.

Hic mihi silentio praetereundum non videtur, quod Afris nostris communi fratris sororisve nomine, more Israëliitarum indigitetur patruelis et consobrina, aliisque quarto consanguinitatis gradu se invicem contingentes.

Nullae illis artes, nulla opificia, nulli mercenarii, quique suorum apparatusum elaborator et artifex, nulli illis libri, nullae litterae, omnia illis plus quam Cimmeriis immersa ignorantiarum tenebris: attamen cum Nicolao Almeida Lusitano Mosambique oriundo, et Britannica nave, cui Johannes et Maria nomen, huc delato, multus sermo mihi fuit, qui inter alia non spernendae indaginis retulit, prope sinum del Agoa Aethiopiam versus, se lapidibus maximae molis, in tropaei modum constructis insculptos vidisse characteres, nulli Europaeo comiti notos: credendi autem temeritate reus non videbor, hinc conjecturam capiens, an non illic tot locis quaesitum Salomonis Ophir detegere liceat: eoque magis quod idem Nicolaus ad omnia stupenti asseveraverit, se inibi auri facti rudisque tantam vim vidisse, ut Americani Atubalibae opes horum divitiis collatae longe inferiores censeantur, seque una die bovem mactatum et in frusta dissectum Aethiopibus vendidisse, et viginti imo triginta auri libras informis, infecti et eximie obrizi (quasi ophirizi) traxisse.

Hic ex castello Regis Lusitaniae *Ingome* dicto, sitoque in regione *Symbao*, proficiscens, duodecim dierum justo itinere, in ejus metropolim *Mamboni* pervenit, ubi Praepotentis Regis *Sangacatto* aula: qui tres ex centum et amplius concubinis, praepetum notarum sustulit filios, Lusitanorum loquentes, legentes et scribentes exactè satis

⁹⁶) This must be the earliest mention of the fact that both Hottentots and AmaXhosa possess what anthropologists term "classificatory" systems of kinship nomenclature, whereby a man applies certain terms of relationship not only to members of his own family, but also, according to definite rules, to more remote relatives. Among the modern Naman, the term *!gān*, used for brothers and sisters, is also used for the children of paternal uncles and maternal aunts (i.e., as G. says, they are also called brother and sister): but for the children of paternal aunts and maternal uncles there are different terms, i.e., they are not regarded as brothers and sisters. The AmaXhosa have a somewhat similar system of relationship terminology.

⁹⁷) The suggestion that what is now Southern Rhodesia and the adjoining districts of P.E.A. were the Ophir of the Scriptures is also found in earlier Portuguese writers, e.g. de Barros and dos Santos. Modern research has tended to discredit this theory, although it still crops up from time to time. Cf. the authoritative

the sword even of our own kin. But let me return from my digression.

Here I think I should mention that among our natives (i.e. the Hottentots) the names of brother and sister are, in the Israelitish fashion, bestowed on cousins on the father's or the mother's side; while among others (i.e. the Magosi) the names of brother and sister are given to those related to one another in the fourth degree.⁹⁶⁾

There are no arts and no crafts here, and no hired workers; every man is the designer and maker of his own equipment; they have no books, no writing; everything is plunged in an ignorance darker than Cimmerian night. I have, however, had much conversation with one Nicolas Almeida, a Portuguese born in Mozambique who came here in an English ship, the *John and Mary*. Among other matters worthy of investigation he told me that near Delagoa Bay on the Ethiopian side he saw characters cut on stones of huge size that had been set up in the manner of a trophy. These characters were not familiar to any European of his company. I shall not be held guilty of rash credulity if I suggest the query whether we may not here discover the Ophir of Solomon, which has been sought in so many places.⁹⁷⁾ This is the more likely as the same Nicolas told me to my complete surprise that he had seen there such a quantity of gold both wrought and unwrought that the wealth of the American Atahualpas compared with their riches would be found far inferior; and that he one day sold to the Ethiopians an ox which he had slain and cut up, and got therefor twenty, nay thirty pounds of gold, unshaped and unwrought, but wonderfully refined—*obrised* the Portuguese say, which suggests *Ophirised*.

Setting out from the fort of the King of Portugal in these parts, which is called *Ingome*, and lies in the district *Symbao*, he came, after a full twelve days' journey, to the capital *Mamboni*, where there is the court of the powerful king *Sangacatto*.⁹⁸⁾ This king had, from his hundred and more concubines, three sons of great promise, who spoke, read, and wrote the language of the Portuguese with a fair degree of correctness. This they owed to the conspicuous

discussion of the whole question by G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford 1931.

⁹⁶⁾ *Ingome* may be an attempt to write the name of the R. Ingomiamo, near whose mouth is Sofala, one of the earliest Portuguese strongholds in E. Africa; *Symbao* is probably meant to represent *Mozambique*, *Mamboni* = *Mambo*, the hereditary name of the Rozwi (Shona) chiefs; *Sangacatto* I cannot identify. On the Portuguese in E. Africa, see Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, where most of the available records are reprinted.

linguam, qui illud illustri clementiae, singularique bonitati Emmanuelis Pereira Regis Lusitaniae inibi Praefecto, ad omnia solertes, ipsosque Lusitano ritu vestire, aliaque scitu digna docenti acceptum ferunt.

Divinitatem aliquam *Messimo* dictam, in lucis summo cultu venerantur, cum spe minime dubiâ, ipsos Christianorum sacris propediem initiandos; deprehensum in adulterio adulteramque vivos jugulant, eodemque supplicio homicidia, furta, et latrocinia plectunt, eorundem bona fisco addicentes.

Asserit terrâ marique in Promontorio *Corrientes* ad os australe freti, quod Africam ab insula forte Ptolomei Menuthia (vulgo Madagascar) disjungit, visa sibi animalia amphibia, rubentia, et in terra pascentia, Sirenibus proxima, duodecim pedes circiter longa, crassaque ex proportionis norma, porcino capite, pro brachiis pedibusve quasi alas testudinis marinae habentia, superna parte homini, inferna pisci cum cauda subsimilia, quae ore sibilantia nec aliam vocem edentia saepius audivit; tam mares quam feminas, parte genitali hominibus pares, eorundemque carnem jumentorum non piscium similiorem: in utraque maxilla duos dentes, spithamae longitudinis, et duorum duntaxat digitorum latitudine extra gingivam prominentes observavit: quales mihi à quodam Anglo hic ostensos et magno Mosambique emi, ex nonnullis me accepisse memini, jactantibus eos maximè salutiferos, et si credere fas est, podagrae mederi.

Doleo quod quum hinc Indiam versus navi Purmer vela darem, ad Promontorium *Corrientes* in anchoris stans, navique Unicornu rediens, oramque hanc legens, nihil horum, praeterquam quod immensae magnitudinis balenam, navem nostram à puppi et prora, et ab utroque latere aliquoties circumnatantem, et quodammodo adorantem, instantis tremendae tempestatis, paucis post horis abortae, quaque aliquot diebus mirum in modum jactati, quasi praenuntiam, viderim.

Hujus Nicolai frater germanus, Mattheus Almeida, sub Lusitano Mosambique merens stipendia, illis non contentus, sed auri fame tractus, comitibus quinquaginta Lusitanis, cum sexcentis Afris, Regi Lusitaniae subjectis, omnibus

generosity and singular kindness of Emanuel Pereira, the representative there of the King of Portugal, who finding them of quick parts taught them to dress in the Portuguese fashion, and other things worth knowing.

They worship a divinity called *Messimo*, in groves, with such reverence that there is little room to doubt that they will ere long be initiated into the Christian religion.⁹⁹⁾ A man or woman taken in adultery they put to death. Homicide, robbery, and brigandage merit the same penalty, the goods of the condemned being forfeit to the public treasury.

He states that at Cape Corrientes, at the southern end of the strait which separates Africa from the island now called Madagascar (which is perhaps the Menuthia of Ptolemy) he saw both on land and in the water amphibious creatures, of a reddish colour. They fed on land, and looked like Sirens. They were about twelve foot long, and thick in proportion, with pigs' heads, and instead of hands and feet a kind of fins like a turtle. The upper part was like a man, the lower like a fish with a tail. He often heard them hissing, but never uttering any other sound. They were both male and female, and their genital organs were like those of human beings. Their flesh was like oxen, not fish. In each jaw he noticed two teeth a span in length, but protruding beyond the gum merely the breadth of two fingers. I remember that a certain Englishman showed me teeth like these, and that I heard from several people that they fetch a high price at Mozambique. My informants claimed that they are very good for preserving the health, and, if one may believe it, that they cure gout.

I once made the voyage from here to India on the good ship *Purmer*, and returned on the *Unicorn*. On the way out we lay at anchor off Cape Corrientes, and on the way back skirted all this coast. To my regret I saw none of the creatures described above, but I did see a huge whale which swam round our ship, bow and stern, starboard and larboard, many times, as if paying us some sort of homage. It proved the harbinger of a terrible storm which burst upon us a few hours later and for several days gave us a wonderful tossing.

Matthew Almeida, the brother of my friend Nicolas, was in the service of Portugal at Mozambique. Discontented with his lot, and led on by the accursed lust of gold, he took with him fifty Portuguese and three hundred natives, all well armed and ready for plunder, and with these he made

⁹⁹⁾ *Messimo*=*medzimu*, the name applied by the Mashona to their ancestral spirits.

probè armatis et ad praedam instructis, à fluvio Sena Niembam usque viginti dierum itinere distantem Septentrionique obversam penetrat, ibique à fidentis praesentisque animi incolis pro suis strenue pugnantibus cum commilitonibus ad internecionem caesus.

Di boni! quae animarum messis hic Christo fieri posset? quam vastus hic praedicationibus campus? si postposito privato emolumento, omnes ad majorem Dei gloriam communi bono invigilarent: sed vah dedecus! maximam partem, à Religionis et Sacramenti auctoritate ad mercedem atque quaestum per omnes artes abducuntur, quorum aliqui duas tresve personas sustinent, qui animi egestate, infirmitate ingenii, meritorum penuria, omniumque virtutum patrocinio nudi inopesque, ne uni soli quidem sufficerent: I pudor in silvas! et Barbaros edoce, nimium ne credant colori, dum alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.*

Sed singula haec scripto comprehendere litterarum cancelli non patiuntur, cujus modum vereor me bene longa hac, et voluminis instar, epistola excesserim. Ast tu indulgentissime Vir latiore a me flagitans, scribendi cacoëthi, longiusque prolapso quam iudicii tui, et utriusque aetatis ratio postulat, facilè ignosces, et pauca haec cuicuiusmodi sunt, profligandis tuis quaestionibus, quaequae mihi memoratu visa digna, et Latiali sermone scriptu facilia non aspernaberis, nec ea censoria lima laevigare, calamistro tuo inurere, nec desultorio meo stylo peregrinantibus usitatissimo ignoscere gravaberis.

Quo uno omnia verbo complectar, terram scias hanc suis contentam bonis, nec mercis aut opis alicujus (si luxuria absit) indigam, tam longè latèque se pandit Divina bonitas, abundè incolis exhibens alimenta.

Insuper his praecincta circumfluo imperiosoque et uniones exaluminatos aliquando infundente litoribus cum ambro aliisque purgamentis, Oceano; exiguo isthmo peninsula continenti adhaeret: quam quam Batavus anno 1651 occupans Duce et auspiciis...van Riebeeck eximii viri justo emptionis titulo et juris auctoritate à Barbaris tenet,

* Virgil, *Eclogues*, ii, 17 and 18. The precise identification of the *alba ligustra* and *vaccinia nigra* of Virgil is uncertain.

his way from the river Sena to Niemba, a journey of twenty days to the north. The inhabitants of this place proved to be men of a confident and ready temper, they put up a strenuous fight in defence of their own, and were so successful that they slew Matthew and his followers to a man.

O kind heaven, what a harvest of souls could here be made for Christ! What a field is here for the preaching of His gospel! if only private gain could be put in the second place, and all, for the greater glory of God, would watch over the common good. But, alas, for the most part they forswear their allegiance to God and country and turn to unscrupulous quest of gain; and there are some who fill two or three public positions, men whose poverty of spirit, weakness of intellect, incapacity for service, and utter absence of all virtuous endowment, would not suffice for one. Off, Shame, and hide in the woods! and teach the natives not to put too much trust in colour. The white blossoms fall, the black berries are gathered.

But the limits of a letter do not permit of my including every particular, and I fear that I have already transgressed them in this very long, and literally voluminous, epistle. But you, kind sir, asked me to write at length, and you will readily pardon my evil lust for writing, even if it has gone beyond what your judgment and consideration of our respective ages, could permit; and you will not despise these few observations, such as they are, in which I attempt to reply to your questions, and to record what seemed to me both worth telling and easy to express in the Latin tongue; nor will you refuse to smoothe my roughness with your critical file, to dress the unkempt locks of my poor prose, and to forgive the homely style which is all that exiles can attain.

To put all in a word, you must know that this land is sufficient unto itself, and needs neither commerce nor any other aid, if luxury be absent, so bountifully does the goodness of God here display itself, affording nurture without stint to the inhabitants.

In addition to this the land is girdled with a circumfluent and lordly Ocean, which from time to time casts upon her shores pearls of the colour of alum, together with amber and other offerings from its store. A narrow isthmus unites the peninsula to the mainland. This peninsula, in the year 1651,¹⁰⁰⁾ the Dutch occupied under the command and auspices of the great van Riebeeck, and now hold from the natives on a just title of purchase and with the sanction of

¹⁰⁰⁾ Sic. Van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay on April 7, 1652.

in dies colonis, agris, fortunisque auctiorem gliscentemque, sed quo justo interveniente pretio venditores ignorant, et emptores dicere gravantur: sufficit volentibus non factam injuriam et nostrates ex tenuissimis principiis, vastioris terrae dominos factos, quam totius Bataviae ambitus complectitur: qui in cunis adhuc vagientes, multis frequentibusque latrocinis barbarorum irritati, et oblatas pacis conditiones superbè satis spretas videntes, bellum illis indicunt, et cum omnibus copiis, tam stipendiario milite quam colonis, impressionem in hostilem terram populationemque faciunt, modico saltem praesidio in arce relicto, qui captantes temporum momenta, dum barbarus nocturnis choraeis fessus, ut fere fit, primulo diliculo somnum capit, nil tale metuentem, et in utramvis aurem dormiscentem assiliunt, pars trucidatur, reliqui fuga sibi consulunt. Europaei omnia diripientes, ingentem pecudum armentorumque vim, magnis itineribus abducunt. Barbari se colligentes regredientium terga et latera premunt, sed equitatu nostro in fugam versi statuunt ad conspectum stellae, orientem solem antecedentis (hinc eos motus siderum et stas temporum vices omnimodo non ignorare colligere licet) attemperate omnibus copiis in nostrorum castra quadripartito agmine reptabundi, et in ventrem proni provolare; ex compacto assultant, sed in speculis stans miles, hoste detecto ad arma clamat; consurgunt nostri, impetumque inimicorum fortiter propellunt, quibus si mens non laeva fuisset, illaesi ad libitum Batavos non diu post cecidissent, nam tanta vis imbrium subito effusa tantaque violentia ventorum coërta, ut frigore obrigescentibus membris, et madentibus nostrorum armis, itinere fessos, sarcinis impedimentisque graves ad unum omnes deleri potuissent, sed aliter Superis visum fuit, hoc unico ictu totae Barbarorum vires accisae, illaque victoriâ debel-

¹⁰¹⁾ In 1672 the Dutch "bought" from the Goringhaiqua chief Schacher "the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout and Saldanha Bays, with all its lands, rivers and forests" for goods to the nominal value of £800 (the goods actually transferred were worth £2 16s. 5d.); and a little later a similar agreement was made with the Chainouqua chief Dhouw, who "sold"

law, and the settlement grows greater day by day in burghers, farms, and fortunes; but what the just price was that passed between them the sellers do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating.¹⁰¹⁾ It is sufficient that no harm was done to those who accepted the occupation without resistance, and that our countrymen, from the slenderest beginnings, have become the lords of a domain vaster than the whole circuit of Holland. For when the colony was still in its infancy, the burghers, provoked by repeated robberies on the part of the natives, and perceiving that the terms of peace they offered were rather scornfully rejected, declared war upon them. They then collected all their forces, both mercenary troops and burghers, made an invasion into the territory of the enemy and began to lay it waste, leaving only a small garrison behind in the fort. The invaders waited their time, and when the natives were wearied on one occasion with their usual dancing by night, and had fallen asleep at the first peep of dawn, they fell upon them, off their guard and sleeping soundly. Some were slaughtered, the rest sought safety in flight. The Europeans then plundered everything, and drove off by forced marches a huge quantity of sheep and oxen. The natives rallied and pressed upon the rear and flanks of the retreating host, but our cavalry routed them. They then made a plan to be carried out at the first sight of the morning star (and this is the reason why I think they cannot be regarded as totally ignorant of the motions of the stars and the fixed order of time). Dividing all their forces into four divisions they were to steal upon our camp, crawling up on their bellies. At the agreed signal they sprang up for the attack. But our pickets sighted them and gave the cry *To arms*. Our men arose, and vigorously repelled the assault of the enemy. But if they had not misjudged the situation they could a little afterwards have slain the Dutch with impunity to their heart's content, for such a flood of rain suddenly fell and so violent a wind rose that our men were numbed with the cold and their weapons were soaked with wet. If the natives had then attacked they could have slain them to a man, exhausted as they were with marching and encumbered with packs and baggage. But heaven willed otherwise. This one blow crippled the natives' strength. One victory finished

the district of Hottentots Holland to the Dutch "in return for merchandize amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d." (Theal, ii, 198-201). In the eyes of the Hottentots these "sales" were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" analogous to tribute paid for this use (Schapera, 290).

latum, nobisque in otio vivendi copia quiesque parta, et latius extendendi pomeria occasio oblata fuit.

Sub hujus Coloniae primordiis, Afri nostros contrerraneos ignivomos putabant, dum adstupentes, displosis nostratium bombardis una solâ glanda plombeâ quantamcunque feram, leonem, elephantemve tanquam Jovis ignibus ictum, sterni vident. Iidem equites nostros, totidem Centauros, aut semi-viros[que] equos sibi fingeant, ad quorum conspectum contremiscebant. Eorundemque fortitudinem in tantum revereantur, ut quamlibet mulierem puellamve horum barbarorum, alteram Thalestram Alexandri concipiendi studio se prostituentem dixisses, eò acriori in venerem cupidine (instigante et stimulante forte ejus marito) quo firmiter credebat, foetui ex nostris concepto, parentis virtutem ingenerari: Misella! pulveris nitrati et nostratium armorum ignara.

Talibus illusionibus fovendis, nostratium aliquis, barbaro pateram ex vicino torrente aquâ replendam porrexit: nostras interim aliam priori assimilem, spiritu vini maximarum virium diffluentem in tentorio suo abscondit, revertitur Afer, cantinumque lymphâ plenum reportat, quem arreptum nostras juxta latentem patinam subdole collocat, convocatque Barbaros, ut cum suis magis adsint. Protinus omnes adstant, interroganturque, an aquam per Afrum ex amne haustam et scutella contentam flammis conflagrare valeant? qui imperitiam suam fassi, negant à quoquam id posse fieri. Astu nostras patinam spiritu vini gravem produxit, petitque ignem sibi dari, vafreque admotis sulphuratis spiritum vini accendit, quem ubi flammatum barbari vident, credentes aquam à se allatam ignem concepisse, nullum suspicantes dolum, quidam eorum pudore, omnes metu diffugiunt: sic ars deluditur arte.

¹⁰²⁾ The episode to which G. refers took place during the war of 1673-77 against Gonnema (see above, p. 88). In July, 1673, the first punitive expedition sent out from the Fort under Cruse found the Hottentots' kraal abandoned, but seized all the cattle and marched back home. They had not gone very far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them, and at their first resting-place an attempt was made to recover the cattle. It failed, but the Hottentots kept hovering about for some time. "Had hardly marched a quarter of an hour," says Cruse's report, "when it began to rain so horribly that in case of necessity not one of us would have been able to discharge his musket, but God has protected us from an attack of the enemy who might, humanly speaking, have been able to destroy us all and recapture the cattle" (D., July 25, 1673).

¹⁰³⁾ De Choisy, one of the Jesuits who passed through the Cape in 1685-86 on their way to Siam, relates an identical episode which he says was told to him by Simon v. d. Stel as having

the war. The chance of living in peace and quiet, and the freedom to extend our dominion, were secured for us.¹⁰²⁾

In the early days of the Colony the natives thought that our men who lived next to them could vomit fire. They stood by in amazement, while on the discharge of our guns they saw the largest wild animal, a lion, or an elephant, laid low by one leaden bullet as if struck by lightning. Our cavalry likewise they regarded as so many Centaurs, half horses half men; at the sight of them they began to shake; and they held their strength in such awe that any native wife or maid would prostitute herself to them, hoping, like a second Thalestra, to conceive an Alexander; the woman's husband perhaps would urge her to it, and she would be all the more ready because firmly convinced that the virtue of the sire would be implanted in any child conceived from one of our men. Poor woman! All because she had never heard of powder and shot.

In order to foster these illusions one of our fellows gave a native a dish to be filled with water from the streams near by. Meantime he took a second dish like the first, overflowing with strong spirits of wine, and hid it in his tent. The native returned bringing the bowl of water, which our man took and put secretly beside the concealed dish. He then summoned the natives to attend with their witch-doctors. They all came at once, and were asked whether they could cause to break into flame the water fetched by the native from the stream and contained in the dish. They confessed their inability, alleging that nobody could do it. Then our wily fellow produced the bowl of spirits of wine, called for a light, and cunningly applied the match to the spirits of wine. When the natives saw the burst of flame, they thought he had set the water on fire; suspecting no deceit, they fled in all directions, some through shame, but all in fear. So is the trickster tricked^{103).}

happened during the journey to Namaqualand. He describes it as follows: "Un jour qu'il estoit campé sur une petite hauteur, les Outentos qui l'accompagnoient, lui dirent qu'il alloit mourir, et qu'ils voyoient venir à lui les deux plus grand sorciers du païs. En effet, deux hommes habillez bizarrement, suivis d'une centaine d'autres, s'approchoient gravement: mais il les prévint, et leur fit dire qu'il estoit plus grand sorcier qu'eux; et pour le leur prouver, il fit apporter devant eux un verre d'eau-de-vie, y mit le feu, et l'avalâ toute enflammée. Les pauvres sorciers se jetterent à genoux, reconnurent son pouvoir supérieur, et se retirèrent" (*Journal du Voyage de Siam*, reprint 1930, p. 276). There is no mention at all of this incident in the official records of the journey, but some such story must have been current in the Cape about 1685, forming the source upon which both G. and de Choisy drew their respective accounts.

Hanc oram varias regiones emenso, plagamque vestris pedibus obversam colenti, et sarcophago plebeioque rogo contento hospitam, defunctique ossibus meis levem futuram spero, cum ei gravis non fuerim, cuilibet enim et quolibet tempore (absit superbia verbo et vero) commilitonibus convenis, indigenis, advenisque hospitibus fidem meam, vah! minus hic quam uspiam tutam libens exerui, ubi opportunitatis vel necessitatis ratio id postulavit, licet pessimè habitus, et iniquitate laborum mulctatus: cui accedit quod hic reconditus angulus in quem contrusus, voto meo et opinione fertilior, prae Europae deliciis perplacet: quem magni a me fieri non est quod mireris, si animum meum studiis assertum, involutum literis, et mansuetiorum Musarum amicum, inimicum turbae, à negotiis et curis semper alienum, quietis pacisque amantem spectaveris, Deoque complacitum esse, me in hunc compingere locum, cujus felicitati nihil deest, quam ut hoc exulcerato formidulosoque tempore, per aliquem religiosum Numam, caput non reduviam gemursam(que) curantem, ab scelerum vestigiis expietur, et Reip: turbines audaciâ furentes, flagitiaque anhelantes cum eorundem Autolico Duce, qui pecori imperitat, quem tota armenta sequuntur, exophthalmoque scordalo, perque alterum Titum Judaei hi funditus exstirpentur, et colonia his everriculis et erubescenda sentinâ vacuefacta, ad pileum vocata floreat vigeatque: magnique refert rudis hic populus, dulci fortuna ebrius Numinis metu mitigetur, melioreque consuetudine permulceatur, et ab altero quasi Hercule latrociniorum et rapinarum vindice monstrorumque domitore efferatae hinc genti rubigo animorum effricetur, animusque ejus ad Dei cultum à vitae pravitate convertatur, et huic solutae fluentique juventuti erudiendae, probeque educandae, scholae moderatrices officiorum erigantur, à quibus à tenera statim aetate liberalium artium disciplinis, mentis, genii et ingenii boni adolescentes, sub idoneis magistris, dictis factisque probe excolantur, imbuanturque, et sapientiae sedulam operam det, studiosorum lectissima cohors, fortium virorum seminarium, bono publico et parentum votis sedulo litaturum.

I have traversed many regions, and now live in a corner of the globe that lies beneath your feet; I ask no more than an undistinguished grave, and I hope this shore will be friendly to me and that when I am dead it will lie lightly on my bones. I have not been a burden to it; to every man at every time (and I hope there may be no arrogance in word or deed of mine), to my colleagues who came here with me, to the natives I found here, to the strangers who have since come, I have ever offered my confidence freely. I have done this whenever occasion offered or need required, though, alas, there is no place where confidence is more misplaced than here, and I have been vilely treated, and unjustly requited. But I have this also to content me that this remote corner into which I have been thrust, is more fertile than I hoped or believed, and charms me more than the refinements of European civilisation. That I should love it will not surprise you, if you consider that my mind has always been devoted to study, wrapped up in books, a friend of the gentle Muses and an enemy of the bustling throng, ever averse from the cares of business and devoted to peace and quiet. Reflect too that it has been God's will to fix me in a spot that lacks nothing for happiness except that in this corrupt and parlous age some religious Numa should arise, to attend to the head, not to the sore nail or the corn on the toe, and to clear the place of the traces of its crimes. But as for the disturbers of the State, raging in their fury and panting with villainy, together with their leader, a pop-eyed thieving blackguard, who lords it over the flock and whom the whole troop follows, another Titus must arise to extirpate them like the Jews of old, and when the colony has been purged of these plunderers and of this shameful scum, and rescued from slavery, it will flourish and prosper. It is of great moment to this rough people, made drunk with good fortune, that it should be tamed by the fear of God, and mellowed by better ways of life; another Hercules is needed to be the punisher of robbers and plunderers, and the subduer of monsters, so that the rust may be rubbed off their savage souls, and their minds turned from a life of shame to the worship of God; schools must be set up to inculcate right standards of morality, so that our dissolute and helpless young people may receive proper training and education. Here from their earliest years youths of good ability, character and intellect must be instructed in the liberal arts, under suitable teachers, so that they may be imbued with fit notions of speech and conduct. Such a choice band of scholars, applying themselves earnestly to the pursuit of wisdom, will form a nursery of noble men, giving continual satisfaction to the public good and the prayers of their parents.

Plura non addo ne videar intemperans, scribendo ea quae occultari debent imperiique arcana revelando: multa scitu digna mandato Praefecti Promontorio, concernentia vitam, mores, statumque dissitorum et circumjacentium incolarum conscripsi, quae Patribus Societatis Indicae non displicuisse gratum, longèque gratissimum, quod bono publico curas, cogitationes, omnesque vigilias meas, licet conculcatus, conferam.

Vale vir Rev^{de} et stabili salute potiaris, acroamaque hoc adstrictè ex schedis meis rejectaneis adversariisque compilatum, crassiorisque Minervae tam rerum auditione acceptarum, quam quas certis auctoribus omni exceptione majoribus, et ex annalibus, instrumentisque authenticis comperi, oculisque usurpavi, aequi bonique consule, fidesque penes auctores sit, quippe multa elutriata in hebetes quarti imo quinti interpretis aures, et effutita audaci, temeraria et barbara linguâ, credentium se narrata apprimè intelligere, cum nihil intelligant, verbum de verbo malè exprimentes, impudentiaque sua fidem capitulatores sibi perstruentes, et secum ipsi discordes, necessum est, omnes de genuino sensu balbutire, et nos de veritate rerum adumbratâ intelligentia hallucinari. Hoc Ryparographi* levidense hujus provinciae commentariolum, conditionemque regionis, brevi aliam manu Lysippea ex vero et liquido per singula liniamenta simulatam, communi bono, valentioribus lateribus excepturam, spero imo confido, voveoque ut Deus te nobis diu sospitet, tibi sit mei fervida cura, qui se, fortunas caputque suum pro incolumitate tua devovet.

* Ryparographi seems corrupt.

I add no more. I would not be thought indiscreet through writing what ought to be concealed or revealing state secrets. At the request of the commander in charge of the Cape I have put in writing much that it is worth knowing regarding the life, habits, and condition of the natives both far and near. I am glad that this has pleased the Council of the India Company, and still more glad am I to devote all my efforts and thoughts and sleepless nights to the public good, though I be trampled on.

Now farewell, reverend sir, and may you enjoy lasting health. Be indulgent to this little composition which has been thrown together from my note-books and odd pages of writing. It is a rough sketch, embodying matters of hearsay as well as information gathered from reliable witnesses, written records, authentic documents, and my personal observation. My informants must bear the responsibility for what they say. Many statements have been filtered through the dull ears of four or five interpreters, and then poured forth in a bold, rash, and barbarous style by men who believed they understood what was told them, though they really understood nothing. They interpret badly, but endeavour by their boldness to make themselves believed, and they often contradict themselves. Inevitably they all miss the true sense, and our understanding is darkened and we get false notions of the real facts. I hope, nay, I am confident, that this slight sketch of the province, and description of the country will soon be superseded, for the common good, by another of more powerful eloquence fashioned in every line, truly and brilliantly, by the hand of a Lysippus.

I pray God to preserve you long in health and strength for us, and may your love for me not grow cold, for you know that I would give myself, my fortune, and my life for your wellbeing.

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